

A POLITICAL HISTORY
OF
THE MUSLIMS

Vol. I
(Prophet and Pious Caliphs)

BY

S. M. IMAMUDDIN
Professor of Islamic History & Culture,
University of Dacca

Najmahsons
1, Maneshwar 1st Lane, Dacca—9

Other books of the Author :

1. A Political History of the Muslims, Vol. II (Umayyads & Abbasids)
2. A Modern History of the Middle East and North Africa, Vol. I (1253—'939) Vol. II (1939—1961)
3. A Political History of Muslim Spain (711—1492)
4. Economic History of Spain under the Umayyads (711—1031 A. D.)
5. A Memoire of Hispano-Arab Libraries
6. Some Aspects of the Soci-Economic and Cultural History of Muslim Spain (711—1492 A. D.)

Editor of :

The Ta'rikh-i-Khan Jahani of Khwajah Ni'mat Allah in 2 Vols.
The Ta'rikh-i-Sher Shahi of 'Abbas Sarwani in 2 Vols.

Published by :

S. M. Shahabuddin

(30 Shillings)

CONTENTS

Contents		III
Preface		V
Introduction :		IX
	Arabia (ix), The Arabs (xv), The South and North Arabs (xx), Foreign Domination (xxii), Religious and moral Degradation (xxiv)	
Chapter I	<i>Muḥammad the Prophet</i>	1—100
	Early life (1) Makkan Period (10), Negotiations with the Yathribites (22), Hijrat (26), Madinite Period (28), The Charter of Madīnah (32), Circumstances leading to the battle of Badr (36), Battle of Badr (41), Battle of Uḥud (46), Growing strength of Muslims (51), Battle of <u>K</u> handaq (53), The Truce of Ḥudaybiyah (58), Expedition to <u>K</u> haybar (66), Conquest of Makkah (69), Battle of Ḥunayn and Capture of Ṭā'if (75), Expeditions to Muṭah and Tabūk (78), Deputations from 'Arab Tribes and Spread of Islām (81), The Farewell Pilgrimage (86), An Appreciation of the Prophet (89).	
Chapter II	<i>Pious Caliphs (<u>K</u>hulafā'-i-Rāshidīn)</i>	101-226
Section I :	Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq	101-130
	Early life (101), Election (104), Condition of Arabia on the eve of Abū Bakr's <u>K</u> hilāfat (107), Expedition to Syria (111), Campaigns against the Rebels (112), Riddah war (113), War on the Persian Border in 'Irāq (117),	

IV

A Political History of the Muslims

War on the Syrian Border (122), Death (124), Character and Achievements (125).

Section II : *‘Umar al-Fārūq* 130-167

Early life (130), Conquest of Persia (134), Conquest of Syria (145), Recall of Khālīd (151), Conquest of Egypt (152), Causes of Territorial expansion (157), Death (162), Character and Achievements (163).

Section III : *‘Uthmān Dhī al-Nūrayn* 167-201

Early life (167), Election (169), Governors and Conquests (171), Dissensions (177), Charges against *‘Uthmān* (184), Murder of *‘Uthmān* (196), Character and Achievements (198).

Section IV : *‘Alī Abū Turāb* 201-226

Early life (201), Election (204), *‘Alī*’s Difficulties (205), Change of Governors (207), Battle of Jamal (210), Battle of *Ṣiffīn* (212), The Khārijis (218), Rebellions in *Baṣrah* and *Ḥijāz* (221), Murder of *‘Alī* (222), Character and Achievements (223).

Chapter III *Administration* 227-259

‘Arab Tribe (227) The Prophet (229), The Caliph (230), The *Wālī* (235), Peace and Justice (237), Police (238), *‘Āmil* : Taxes (240), Public works (248), The Military organisation (250).

Bibliography 259

Index 265

P R E F A C E

Arabia a sub-continent of 1,000,000 square miles larger than the Indian Peninsula contained all grades of social structure on the eve of the birth of Islām. It was surrounded by highly civilized peoples like the Romans and the Persians while the Arabs themselves were a predominantly nomadic people, the repository of various vices and virtues. They rose up as one man under the dynamic leadership of Prophet Muḥammad and the pious Caliphs, led and united by great ideology and driven by historic and economic forces dominating the surrounding countries. Here an attempt is being made to write the early history of these peoples.

The topic chosen for this dissertation is, however, so general and important that it has drawn attention of many distinguished scholars both from the West and the East and many works have been written on this period in various languages, but most of them are either highly specialized, covering one or other aspects of history or dealing with biographies of the Prophet and of the Early Caliphs and with some aspects of their administration while yet others are very handy and of the general type. Hence the present writer has felt the need of a work falling in between the highly specialized and the general works to serve those who have some background of Muslim history but are desirous of acquiring further knowledge by going through works setting out more detailed information. The present work has been written with this perspective in view.

The present writer, however, not being proficient in some of the languages in which materials are available, has

had to be satisfied with materials available in works written in Arabic, Persian, Urdu, English and French. The available materials being of great volume and of diverse nature and containing many controversial topics is difficult for him to treat and evaluate them all in this sketchy volume.

Treatment of controversial points has been generally brief and in the light of historical data with a few words of comment added at places. Here stress has been laid on the political events and administrative aspects of the history and attempts have been made to base the ideas and facts on original sources wherever possible but modern works have not been set aside; in fact, they have been often referred to, in arriving at conclusions.

Even the biased views of certain Western orientalists have been incorporated after comparative studies of their views with the original and other secondary sources.

There are a number of works in English, both specialised and general, which are often misleading as facts have been distorted and recorded obviously without proper critical study of original sources and the circumstances in which certain developments had taken place in those days. It is specially on account of this that the present work has been undertaken. It is now for the readers to judge how far it has fulfilled its objective and in case of some success, in this regard, the authors whose specialised works have been consulted and depended upon deserve full credit.

It must be acknowledged here that the special studies made by modern writers like Shiblī Nu'mānī, Saiyid Sulaymān Nadvī, Ḥamīd Allāh, Shāh Mu'īn al-Dīn Nadvī, Sir William Muir and Philip K. Hitti have been invaluable in arriving at

views on certain vexing political and administrative problems of the Arabs and in guiding the present writer in adopting a balanced stand points whenever controversial issues have arisen for analysis and appraisal.

The author is grateful to his friends and colleagues, Mr. M. S. Khān and Mr. Muzammil Ḥaq, University of Dacca, for partly going through the manuscript and proof sheets.

Due to faulty proof reading to which the author himself is solely responsible mistakes of various nature, some of serious types, have occurred for which he apologizes to the readers and hope they will take interest in reading the matters collected here and offer their valuable suggestions for improvement of the text in the next edition.

UNIVERSITY OF DACCA

S. M. Imamuddin

28th July, 1955.

INTRODUCTION

Arabia :— As history and geography are interrelated and interdependent and as man can never be scientifically studied apart from the ground he tills and lands on which he trades it is necessary to know something about the lands of the 'Arabs before learning anything about the 'Arabs themselves. In describing the conditions of Western Asia, Bevan observes, "Through all the history of Western Asia there runs the eternal distinction between the civilized cultivators of the plains and lower hills and the wild peoples of mountain and desert."¹ The banks of the great rivers and the lower hills near the sea are the seats of civilization in Western Asia. Mountain and desert are a world altogether different. Being unsubjugated lands they are perpetual menaces to the settled and civilized neighbouring countries and to river-valley culture. In the past they offered refuge and recruiting ground for the rebels and the enemies of the established governments in the secular feuds between the governments and the tribes.

The river-valley cultures of Egypt and Mesopotamia have played a very prominent role in history and are the lineal ancestors of modern civilization in the West. In the settled area of Mesopotamia and Syria there was constant drifting of the Bedouins from Arabia, sometimes by way of predatory incursions, at other times by forming settlements. Between the sphere of the river-valley cultures

1. Bevan, E. R., *House of Seleucus*, London, 1902, I, 20.

there lies the wide desert sea of Arabia a geological formation of South-West Asia.

Arabia, the 'Island of the Arabs,' covers an area of 1400 miles in length and 700 in breadth where the 'Arabs lagged behind in the evolution of cultural progress in South-West Asia. This land of the 'Arabs, besides the peninsula of Arabia proper, includes the eastern and northern neighbouring deserts where the 'Arab tribes settled long before the 'Arabs rose to power under Prophet Muḥammad. This wide area is marked off by distinct economic and social conditions of its inhabitants as described by geographers of ancient and medieval days.¹

The land of Arabia slopes down from west to east. Most of the high hills are in the west. 'Umān is the only mountain in the south-east. The Arabian coasts on the Persian Gulf are mostly sloping low lands. There is no river but small streams (*wadis*) filled with the water of periodical rains and drifting before falling into the sea. They, however, irrigate the adjacent lands on which palm groves can subsist. Among these Wādī Sirhan in the north and wadis Rummah and Dawasir in the south are worth mentioning. A large part of the Peninsula is desert divisible into three parts.

1. *Nufud*, an area of deep sand ;
2. *Dahana* covered at intervals with sand-drifts surface where water can be had by sinking wells ; and
3. *Harrah*, a surface of lava layers.

The great *Nufud* is in the north, while the *Dahana* sweeps the south-east and southern central area. The *Nufud* extends about 140 miles from north to south, and 180

1. Cf. Dickson, H. R, P., *The Arab of the Desert*, London, 1949.

from east to west. There is no well in this area but it contains moisture sufficient to nourish certain desert plants in winter. Sand being soft and water being not available, travelling across this *Nufud* is difficult and labourious. The region is covered with luscious green vegetation after winter rainfall and supplies fodder to the sheep and camels of the wandering nomads in *rabi* season.

The mountain ranges of Salma and Aja now called Jabal Shammār are in the south of the *Nufud*. There is sufficient rainfall and water can be had by digging wells. The climate is healthy. There are also a few villages and towns though the majority of the people are nomads and shepherds who might migrate to this place in summer from the *Nufud*. Perennial trees and herbs, mostly of an aromatic type, grow there. The staple food of the nomads of this area are milk and dates grown in oases. They occasionally take meat too while cereals produced in the mountain valleys are consumed particularly by the wealthiest classes living in towns. The nomads often live by robbery and raid on caravans or settled agriculturists. They realise tribal fees from village and town dwellers for protection of their agricultural crops and commercial goods.

To the west of the *Nufud* and Shammār mountain lies the Hījāz extending from the Gulf of 'Aqābah to Yaman covering the western coast of Arabia on the Red Sea. It does not have natural ports but two stations of the merchants lying on the trade routes between the south and the north from San'a to 'Aqābah which gradually developed into the towns of Madīnah, a large flourishing oases, and Makkah a trading and financial centre. In order to enable the caravans fitted at Makkah to reach destination in safety twice

a year there prevailed general truce for one month in Rajab and three months in Dhu'l Qa'dah, Dhu'l hijjah and Muharram.

Makkah being at the cross-roads of routes from Abyssinia to 'Irāq and Yaman to Syria had a special economic importance for the tribes living in the neighbouring districts. Their services were utilized by the merchants as trackers and suppliers of provisions.¹ The chiefs of the tribes were paid for safe-conduct through their territories. The prosperity of Makkah meant their own. Their attachment with Makkah was strengthened further by having shares in the joint-stock companies of Makkah and matrimonial alliances with the Makkan Chiefs. The trade traffic enabled the 'Arab tribes to settle in the various *emporla* and follow business or take agencies of the big merchants and work as carriers of the trade. Commerce and trade received such a great impetus in the hands of the pre-Islamic 'Arabs that even 'Arab women became interested in it. Khadijah, the post wife of the Prophet, was a wealthy merchant of Arabia before her marriage with him. Abū Jahl's mother was, similarly, a trader in perfumery.

Commercially the Makkans were pro-Byzantine because the expansion of the Byzantine commercial activity in the Red Sea had ruined the Himyarites in the South and had cut off the communication of their South Arabia with East Africa and Egypt and diverted the trade caravans of South Arabia to Syria. Thus from the beginning of the Christian era trade by land greatly suffered due to the carrying of sea trade by the Romans from Egypt direct

1. Cf. Dickson; *The Arab of the Desert*, pp. 362-65 (Desert guides and trackers).

to Yaman and the East. This led to the great emigration of the 'Arab tribes towards the north and east in the second century of Christian era and foundation of the Kingdoms of Ghassān and Hīra while Ḥaḍramawt and Yaman in the south were continued to be ruled by the Himyarites.

There is no regular rainfall though the high lands behind Makkah have frosty nights even in summer. Iṣṭakhrī speaks of frozen water of the mountain near al-Tā'if and al-Hamadānī of San'a. Even today, the majority of the people living in this region follow a nomadic and pastoral life. The Jews, in the beginning, came to this area as traders and later when they lost their ground in Palestine and were expelled by the Christians under Nēbuchadnezzar they came and settled as agriculturists in colonies at Yathrib, Tayma, wādī al-Qura, Khaybar and other oases of Arabia. Khaybar and Tayma are best known subterranean pools of water in the north-west lava regions. The Jews developed the oases and introduced improved methods of agriculture and lived on date and wheat growing.¹ Wells and reservoirs were constructed by Greek engineers during the time of the Umayyads and agriculture was developed considerably. Later it was neglected by the 'Abbasids and consequently it reverted to its earlier condition. There were small industries in the Ḥijāz and Tā'if was known for its leather work.

Yaman occupies the south-west corner of Arabia. In general character it resembles the Ḥijāz. It is divided mainly into two ridges with a series of plains in between. The inter-ridge rises to a height of more than 12,300 feet where snow falls every winter and which abounds in perennial streams

1. Balādhurī, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, I, 30-31 tr.

having a favourable climate suitable for cultivation of cereals and *qahwah* (coffee). Coastal plain of the Tihama is about thirty miles wide where agriculture and arboriculture are possible by husbanding of rain-water. The inhabitants of Yaman are mostly settled people and San'a, Najrān and 'Adan are their important towns. The Yamanites like other Arabs of southern coast take to the sea. Yaman developed trade relations with India, Egypt and East Africa. It was the original home and cradle of the Semites while the Arabs were "carriers" of the world trade between the east and west."

The 'Arab merchants imported balm, spices, myrrh and other articles from Western India and exported them to Egypt and Palestine. They imported Indian and Chinese articles through Yaman, Syrian and Egyptian goods through the border towns of Syria and Persian products such as silk, cotton and linen goods, arms, cereals and oil through Mesopotamia. The main articles of import were skins, leather, currant, ingots of gold and silver, perfumes, spices, aromatics, gems, drugs etc. Gems, gold, silver, sandal wood, ebony and spices were exported to Palestine. The 'Arab ships used to sail in the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean which was the field of great enterprise. Gharra was the chief port for the Indian trade in East Arabia.

To the east of Yaman lies the district of Ḥaḍramawt. Its southern side is a dry plateau 4,000 to 5,000 feet high and the coastal belt is covered by arid low sand hills. Its northern side is a fertile valley separated from Najd by an escarped belt. Being an incense-producing area from ancient time it supplied spice and incense to India and Europe.

To the north-east of Ḥaḍramawt and the south-east corner of Arabia there is 'Umān. From it the coast up to the Persian Gulf is mostly low-lying. This is now known as al-Baḥrayn.

In the central part of the Peninsula there is the great desert of Najd or elevated central steppe stretching towards the Persian Gulf. Beyond the Gulf of 'Aqābah to which extends the Ḥijāz lies the Sinai Peninsula, an integral part of Arabia though politically it formed the part of Egyptian and Babylonian Empires. Copper was obtained from the mountains of this region. To the east of the Sinai Peninsula is the Syrian desert which stretches as far as the fertile lands of the Euphrates and was utilized as watershed by the 'Arab tribes to enter into Mesopotamia and Syria.

The 'Arabs :—The river-valley culture which was developed on either side—to the north-east and west of the land of the 'Arabs by non-Semitic peoples—influenced the 'Arabs from very ancient time. Once in the olden days there had been a wide-spread community expansion across West Asia and North Africa which later split into two. Thus there were settlers in the Valleys of the Nile and the Euphrates. In between, these two societies based as they were on economic and cultural freedom *viz.* the Egyptian and Babylonian settlements, there developed another culture which was slow in progress and peculiar in characteristic and which later became known as Semetic culture. Though segregated due to physical barriers the people of this area did not lose contact with the neighbouring civilized people. They continued assimilating them at a slow rate and lagged behind them in material progress and culture. From time to time there had been infiltration from outside into the 'Arab cities though not in the interior and, as a result, purity

of language and blood could not be retained in the towns at least. Due to their peculiar economic conditions the 'Arab nomads have many things common in character and behaviour with those of many non-'Arab nomads of the World.¹

Within certain limits the segregation of Arabia may be admitted as real partly due to geographical difficulties but mostly due to the distinctions between the two sets of people, the settled agriculturists and the wandering nomads. The settled 'Arabs engaged in agriculture were bound to the soil on which they had spent much labour and time. They developed peculiarities in dialect and culture different from their nomad brethren thus leading to the formation of a number of sub-groups. The 'Arab nomads occupied in hunting and cattle-rearing were usually moving according to the season and their need. But as the population of the settled people increased more and more lands were brought under cultivation encroaching upon the pasture lands of the nomads and proving that civilization is essentially aggressive. The settled 'Arabs constructed roads of communication across the desert and led troops in the free lands of desert wanderers. The Jewish settlements in Yathrib and Khaybar were examples of aggression of civilization on the nomads leading to the growth of resentment of 'Arab tribes against the Jewish colonists.

Even today the 'Arab Bedouins reproduce the conditions of the ancient patriarchs. They, however, could not remain altogether cut off from the main channels of civilization. In the north, the 'Arabs were involved in world politics from very ancient times. The Romans built a chain of fortifications in the south of Syria separating the

1. Cf. Dickson, *The Arab of the Desert*, London, 1949, 365 et.

desert from the civilized area in the early second century of the Christian era. In spite of this, contact between the Romans and the Arabs continued. The 'Arab nomads learnt the use of weapons, tools and articles of luxury from their civilized neighbours, the Romans and the Persians, through commercial intercourse or contact during war time and the establishment of the foreign colonies in their pasture lands. Fairs were occasionally held in the border areas and strange and rare articles were brought there for sale which attracted the tribesmen and allowed the collection of information about them. This was the policy which was adopted by the Romans and their successors, the Byzantines, as well as the Persians in pre-Islamic days and later, in the medieval period, by the Turks.

"Personal courage, unstinted generosity, lavish hospitality, unswerving loyalty to kinsmen, ruthlessness in avenging any wrong or insult offered to one's self or one's relations or tribesmen, these were the cardinal virtues of the old Pagan Arabs."¹ Patience and restraint have been the features of the 'Arab tribes. They have a strong sense of dignity and personal freedom. The clan organization is the basis of the 'Arab Bedouin society. Every tent represented a family and every encampment of tents was called *hayy*. A clan (*qawm*), and a number of kindred groups together form a tribe (*qabilah*). The Arabs have such a strong family and tribal attachment called '*Asabiyah*' that they sacrifice their own personal interests for the greater cause of the clan and the tribe. The Bedouin is obliged to stand by his brother and clan member in distress without questioning whether he was in the right

1. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, p. 190.

or wrong. "Be loyal to the tribe" sang an 'Arab poet, "its claim upon its members is strong enough to make a husband give up his wife."¹

The 'Arabs are loyal to their tribal traditions and customs and known for hospitality and friendship and true to the terms of alliance in war. The affairs of a tribe were guided by a Shaykh or Chief who, however, did not possess any executive power and as such the tribe did not have any criminal law. In judicial, military and other affairs of common concern he had to consult with the tribal council represented by the heads of the component families. Seniority in age and personal qualifications determined the choice of a Shaykh whose tenure of office depended on the good-will of his constituency. As the 'Arabs were born democrats the family heads met their Shaykh on an equal footing. But their tribal bond was not strong enough to last long and consequently on the growth in numbers of the family members the tribe used to go out of control, dissensions would set in and secession took place. In spite of speaking the same language and following the same manners and customs their groupings and love of independence were great obstacles in the way of their unity. On some insignificant matter they were prepared to separate and fight for years together.

The majority of the 'Arabs were Bedouins as already stated above. The periods of their tribal skirmishes and hostilities arising from disputes over spring or pasture-lands were known as the days of the Arabs (*Ayyām al-'Arab*). Some years before the Hijrah era, the 'Day of Bu'ath' was fought

1. Al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, ed. W. Wright, Leipzig, 1864, p. 229
quoted by Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, p. 27 n3

between the Aws and their kinsmen the Khazrāj in Madīnah.¹ The Quraysh the highly respected tribe of Makkah and their allies the Kinānah fought with the Hawāzin the battle of the 'Days of al-Fijār (transgression)' in the three prohibited months Dhu'l Qa'dah, Dhu'l-Hijjah and Muḥarram. As a young man Muḥammad had also participated in it. The Başūş war the most famous Bedouin war had been fought between the Banū Bakr and their relatives the Banū Taghlib in north-eastern Arabia in the second half of the fifth century A. C. The conflict arose over a trifling matter of a Taghlib Chief wounding a camel of the Başūş and continued for forty years.² Equally important was the dispute of the 'Day of Dahis' which arose over a horse race and a war was fought between the 'Abs and their kinsmen the Dhulyan in Central Arabia in the second half of the sixth century A. C.

The tribal hostilities were fanned by the heroic writings of 'Arab poets composed on the chivalry of the combatants, individuals as well as tribes of their own and satires against the tribes with which they happened to be on terms of enmity. A single verse of Jarīr (d. 110 H/728-9A. C.) lowered the prestige and reputation of Banū Numayr so much that the members of this clan hesitated to call themselves Numyarite anymore.³ The 'Arab poetry has preserved a full account of hereditary feuds of the *Ayyām Jāhiliyat* (Days of Ignorance). Muhalhil (d. ca. 531 A.C.), the Taghlib hero, composed long poems (*qasidahs*). 'Imr al-Qays (d. ca. 540 A. C.), the prince of poets, belonged to the Kindah. He won the first prize at the Fair of 'Ukkāz

1. Ibn Hishām, 117-9; Yāqūt, III, 579.

2. Āghānī, IV, 140-52; '*Iqd al-Farīd*', III, 95; Abū Tamām, *Hamāsah* 420-23.

3. Khudā Bakhsh, I, p. 162.

which was the counterpart, so to say, of the *Académie Française* in Arabia. The *Sab'ah Mu'allaqāt* (Seven odes suspended in the walls of the Ka'bah) were the products of this institution.¹

To decide cases of disputes the 'Arabs had a confederation of the virtuous *Ḥilf al-Fudūl* but the contending parties did not always go to the confederation and their decision was not binding either because every clan was independent. The only effective course was left to bring economic and social pressure by boycotting the offenders as was apparent in the case of Prophet Muḥammad who spoke ill of the old traditions and idol worship of the Quraysh when his family members, the Banū Hāshim, were boycotted and Abū Tālib had to call all the Banū Hāshim to get together for the protection of Muḥammad and his tribe.

The South and North Arabs:—The 'Arab race was divided into two groups termed as Qaḥṭān and 'Adnān. The former flourished in the south and came to be known as Yamanites and the latter in the north. They were always at war with one another more on political than on racial grounds from ancient times. They established their rule separately and developed different cultures and languages, the North Arabic being influenced by Hebrew and Aramaic and the South Arabic by Akkadian and Abyssinian. In course of time the Qahtanites included the people who settled in Ḥīrah and north-east also.

In the beginning of the sixth century A. C. the descendants of Qaḥṭān through Ya'rab, called Kindites, made an attempt to establish a kingdom in central Arabia but they failed to maintain peace and unite the 'Arabs. The rest of Arabia had fallen under foreign influence and power.

1. Al-Suyūṭī, *al-Muḥir*, II, Cairo, 1282, p. 240.

South and north Arabia excluding the central region developed culturally under the Sabaeen, Himyarite and Ghassānid rules. South Arab a was politically and culturally advanced as early as the third century A. C. under the Himyarites. While the Lakhmids rose to power at Hīrah about ten miles south of the ruins of Babylon in the plains of the Euphrates where they had emigrated from South Arabia, their kinsmen the Ghassānids did the same in Syria. Among the north 'Arab tribes the Ghassānids rose to power particularly under al-Ḥarīth V designated as *patrician* by Justinian in 529 A. C. and ruled over the country east of the Jordan in the sixth century of the Christian era. The Lakhmids and the Ghassānids were generally at war. The Ghassānid ruler Mundhir by name conquered Hīrah and destroyed it about 575 A. C. As the 'Arabs lacked political unity their northern and southern kingdoms also gradually lost their independence and they were overpowered by the Byzantines in the north, the Persians in the east and south-east and the Abyssinians in the south-west. The Nabataeans and Palmyrenes were Aramacized and the Ghassānids and Lakhmids were dominated politically and culturally by the Persians and the Byzantines respectively.

The two cultures in the south and north developed respectively under the influence of their masters and allies, the Persians and the Byzantines. Among these the South Arabs were more cultured and advanced than the nomadic North Arabs. Among the former the Tayy, Aws, Khazrāj, Lakhmids, Kindites and Yamanites were popular and among the North Arabs the Ma'add, Mudar, Quraysh, Ghassān, Ḥawāzin and the Kilāb. It was this old 'Arab animosity particularly between the south and the north that worked in Muslim times and also between the Madinites and Makkans during

the time of the Prophet because the former belonged to the southern group and the latter to the northern one further because the Yathribites wanted to have the honour and prestige of having the Prophet among themselves. Commercially the Makkans were pro-Byzantine territory and further because the expansion of the Byzantine commercial activities in the Red Sea had ruined the Himyarite power in the South and had cut off the communication of South Arabia with East Africa and Egypt and had diverted the trade caravans of South Arabia to Syria as already noted above.

Foreign Domination :—Arabia was closed to the outside world only by Muslims when it was united for the first time in its history and the Arabs instead of allowing foreigners to intrude upon them marched beyond their country to conquer new lands. But in pre-Islamic days it lay on the edge of the cultural life of the neighbouring countries and was easily accessible to the Greeks and the Romans, Babylonians and Egyptians. Not long before Islām it was under the marked influence of the Byzantines in the north-west up to the Hijāz and of the Persians in the south-east and the Abyssinians in the south-west. The country was crossed by trade-route, overland routes from Yaman to Syria and from Abyssinia to 'Irāq, and the sea-route from India and Ceylon by the Red Sea which brought the Arabs in constant contact with the neighbouring peoples which allowed outside cultural influence to infiltrate into Arabia. Jewish, Christian, Syrian, Abyssinian and Persian colonists spread over the western and southern coastal areas. O'Leary observes, "Islam cannot be truly appreciated by those who ignore the continuous cultural development which took place in Arabia and decline to recognize how for many centuries the country had been penetrated by cultural influences from the neighbouring lands."¹ The ideas of the Arabs could not

1. *Arabia Before Muhammad*, p. 23

remain uninfluenced with the monotheistic ideas of the Sabaeans, the Jews and the Christians which gave birth to the Hanīf community, believer in the unity of God, just on the eve of the Prophet-hood of Muḥammad.

For a few centuries before the advent of Islām there was constant war between the Persians and Byzantines which was particularly fought in Arabia over commercial disputes. The Byzantines had developed their trades and their mercantile ships furrowed the water of the Red Sea. The Persians tried to stop the Indian and Ceylonese products going to the Byzantine markets by securing a strong hold on South Arabia. They controlled the overland routes from India and China (apart from that to the north of the Caspian Sea) and the sea-routes from Ceylon and India by the Persian Gulf and Red Sea and made the Byzantines pay heavily for their spices and silks. In order to curtail the power and influence of the Persians the Byzantines even approved of the Abyssinian conquest in Southern Arabia. In 530 A. C. the Abyssinian Governor Abraha conquered South Arabia and attacked Makkah with a view to march on Persia but he failed because of the storms. The ancient adversary of the Byzantines namely the Persians under the Sāsānids ruler Nushirwān (Chosroes I) occupied South Arabia forty years after in 570. The Persian monarch Kh̲usraw Anushirwān (531-79 A. C.) had even tried to conquer Byzantium in 540 A. C. but Justinian saved his position by concluding a treaty. The terms of the truce, however, were not recognized by the border 'Arab tribes and tribal war ensued between the Ghassānids and the Lakh̲mids which brought the two Empires into open hostility and Aleppo, Emesa and other towns were occupied by the Persians who carried away as prisoners many Greek engineers, physicians

and technicians and utilized their services in the development of the arts and crafts and sciences in Persia. Soon after the death of Khusraw civil war started in Persia and the Persian ruler had to depend for his existence on Byzantine support. But soon the tide was turned and the Persians under Khusraw Parwīz rose to power, defeated Heraclius and occupied Damascus and Palestine. In 616 they ran over Egypt and Asia Minor which was recovered six years after by Heraclius and within a year's campaign he was able to attack Persia from the rear and occupy its capital city Dastgird.

After the assassination of the Sāsānids ruler Chosroes II (Parwīz) in 628, the Sāsānids monarchy declined so rapidly that it could not stand against the rising power of the Muslims. This was the result of the long war fought between Persia and Byzantium and consequently the Arabs suffered. The Arabian provinces of Persia particularly Yaman had been left to themselves. The Bedouins living in the north-western portion of Yaman, the Tihamah, in the anarchy that followed after the fall of the Persian power completely smothered the Sabaeans living in the South Yaman. Politically Arabia was in a tortured condition and the 'Arabs suffered under their unruly tribal chiefs from the intrigues and feuds of the Byzantine and Persian powers and the greed and rapacity of their Jewish colonists.

*Religious and Moral Degradation of the Arabs :—*The century preceding the rise of Islām was the age of disunity. Even the Quraysh who were the guardians of the Ka'bah were divided into various clans.¹ The section of the Quraysh

1. Cf. Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, III, 119 ff; IV, 121 f; Watt, A. M., *Muhammad at Mecca*, Oxford, 1953, p. 7.

who were settled round about the Ka'bah were called al-Biṭā' and those Quraysh who were quartered in the outskirts, al-Zawāhir. Tribal wars, hatred, bloodshed, idolatry and ignorance were the order of the day, therefore this period has been referred to on several occasions in the Qura'n² as *Ayyām Jāhiliyah* (the Age of Ignorance).

There was little prospect of religious reform as there was little chance of political unity. The foundation of idolatry was so deep-rooted that the heathen Arabs were not prepared to give it up. They had forgotten the religion of their forefather, Abraham, and had lapsed into heathenism and idol and stone worship. Stones were venerated in Petra and other places. There were three hundred and sixty idols in and around the Ka'bah a four-cornered structure. Hubal an image of the moon-god and Shams were placed on the roof of the sacred house. Each tribe had its own deity preferably placed in the Ka'bah. Those who failed to go to Makkah used to have a stone statue or an idol in his own town. Al-Manāt, the goddess of fate, was chiefly worshipped by the tribes of the Hudhayl. Wadd was the deity of the Kalb, Suwa' of the Banū Hudhayl, Naṣr of the Yamanites, al-Lāt the great mother of the gods of the Banū Thaqīf of al-Ṭā'if, al-'Uzzā, the mightiest of the Banū Kinanah. Each and every tribe had its own god, but it also recognized the power of other gods in their own sphere. The worshippers made the shapes and figures of their idols according to their own whims and fancy. Thus man was represented by Wadd, woman by Suwa' and Naylah, lion by Yaghuth, horse by Ya'qūb and vulture by Naṣr. The pictures of Abraham,

1. The Qusayy clan of the Bitah was famous.

2. *Qura'n* 3 : 33, 48 : 26.

Isma'il, Jesus and Mary were also placed inside the Ka'bah. Animals and sometimes even men were sacrificed at the altar and offered to the gods and goddesses. The priests exploited their deities for monetary gain and took their idols into the battlefield against enemies. In the battle of Uḥud Abū Sufyān had taken the goddesses al-'Uzzā and al-Lāt. This reminds us of the story of the carrying of the Ark into the battle field by the Israelites.

The Arabs also worshipped the stars, the sun and the moon and believed neither in the Day of Judgement nor in a life hereafter. They believed in ghosts, devils and evil spirits. Soothsayers and fortune-tellers were the social pests of the Arabs. They were regarded as the masters of jinn who supplied them with information about the past and future. It was for this reason that Prophet Muḥammad was accused of being a *Kāhin* (fortune teller). These soothsayers were both men and women and lived in temples.

Morally also the Arabs were degraded. Some killed their children for fear of poverty others for giving their daughters in marriage to strangers. The Quraysh and Banū Tamīm took pride in infanticide of their female children. Qays b. 'Aṣim buried ten daughters while they were of the tender age of five to six months old. The nearest relatives of the deceased men married their widows, even a son used to marry his step-mother. A man married as many wives as he liked and divorced them by uttering, "Thou art to me as the back of my mother." Although in 'Arab Society man was the master, woman had liberty to choose their husbands and leave them if illtreated. Hindah, the wife of Abū Sufyān, excited the passions of the

Quraysh warriors in the battle of Uhud by uttering thus:—

“If you advance, we will embrace you and we
will prepare for you bouches of sexual bliss;
But if you go back, we will leave you the leaving
without a joy.”¹

Women had no distinct position in ‘Arab society. Their lives and honour were of little consequence. Sexual morality was at its lowest ebb. Even married women were given freely to guests and strangers. As pastime the nobles often tied women to the tails of a galloping horse crushing them to death. This indicated the insignificance of their position. Women and wine were the objects which claimed the love and devotion of the ‘Arabs.

Gambling and drunkenness were so common that hardly a few persons could be found free of these vices. The Christians had the monopoly in the wine trade and the Jews in the slave trade. Syrian wine specially *Irina*, named after a Syrian town, was introduced in Arabia by the Christian ‘Arabs.

Moneylending at heavy and compound interest was common among the ‘Arabs. On default in the payment of loans the creditor took possession of the wives and children of the borrowers and sold them into slavery.

The ‘Arabs were, however, known for certain virtues like frankness, love of independence, hospitality, generosity, bravery, implacable desire for vengeance and protection of the weak, qualities of survival in the desert which were exploited fully to the advantage of Islām by Prophet Muḥammad and his successors with modifications and infusion of new

1. Cf. p. 47n2

spirit into them. The tribal feeling based on blood relationship which binds families into clans and clans into tribes gradually gave way to the more individualistic social organization in Islām.

Besides the heathen 'Arabs there were Jews, Christians and Zoroastrians living in and around Arabia as mentioned above. The Jews had risen to great power under David and Solomon but by the time Jesus appeared among them they had been subjective to torture by the Romans. They were greedy and selfish and practised usury. By the time Muḥammad the Prophet was born the Jews had been driven even from their homeland Palestine towards the south and they had settled in South Arabia and in the oases of north-west Arabia e. g. Khaybar, Tayma, Yathrib and Fadak whence they were driven out later by the Muslims due to their treachery. They succeeded in converting some settled Arabs and assimilated them but failed to exert any lasting religious influence on the Bedouins.

The condition of the Christians was still worse. Jesus Christ had come to confirm the law of the Torah and to reform according to the principles of the *Old Testament* but his follower, Paul, incorporated the mythology of the Greeks into the spiritualism of Christ in order to convert the Greeks and other heathens. Thus the doctrine of Trinity which belonged to Greco-Egyptian mythology crept into Christianity. Mary was worshipped in Arabia as one of the members of the Holy Trinity.

In spite of the domination of the Romans and the contact of the North Arabs with the Christians of Syria, Christianity could not make much headway influencing the border tribes and the Lakhmid dynasty of Ḥīrah. They had, however, forgotten the teachings of Christ and indulged freely in

heathenism. The killing of their opponents was an act of pleasure to the Christians of the sixth century. Julian, the Byzantine Emperor, is reported to have said :

“No wild beasts are so hostile to men as Christian sects in general are to one another.”¹

This was exactly true of the Persian Zoroastrians who were even worse than the ‘Arab Christians. They did not recognize any law of marriage and divorce. The worship of one God was forgotten and the Chaldean cult came to power and persecution of rival creeds began. Under the Later Sāsānids, who were the virtual gods of their subjects, rivalry began with the Byzantines in evils and vices. The rulers became licentious, nobles degenerated and priests over weeningly proud. Manhood was demoralised and religion declined. Thus a good field had been created for the political and religious expansion of Islām in and about Arabia. Khudā Bukhsh rightly observes, “Persia was under the demoralized teachings of Mazdak, and the Byzantine Empire was wanting in sound customs and moral discipline. Thus from all points of view the rise of Islam occurred at a very favourable time.”²

Waraqah ibn Nawfal, ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Jahsh, ‘Uthmān ibn al-Huwayrith, Zayd ibn ‘Amr, Abū Anas, Qays ibn Sirmah, Walīd ibn al-Mughīrah and ‘Uthmān ibn Madhu’n were only among the few persons who either abhorred the worship of idols³ or spoke against drunkenness among the heathen Arabs.⁴ Religious unrest and moral degradation had stirred a section of the thinking Arabs just before Islām.

1. Cf. Syed Ameer Ali, *Spirit of Islam*, Introduction, pp. XLIV-LV

2. *Islamic Civilization*, Vol. I, p. 227

3. *Ibid.*, I, 155

4. *Ibid.*, I, 156

Arabia was ripe for reform and Prophet Muḥammad appeared at an opportune moment to effect his purpose.

Under the influence of Judaism and Christianity there had appeared the Ḥanīfs who believed in the unity of God like the Sabaeans who were also called Ḥanīfs. By the middle of the sixth century of Christian era a few wise and religious scholars could understand the stupidity of their predecessors' religious beliefs and practices and stood against them. They rejected Judaism and Christianity and professed the religion of Abraham. Zayd, Waraqah ibn Nawfal, Ummiyah b. Abi Salt and Aws b. Sawdah were the remarkable figures among them, but they were few in number and they did not have any strong organisation and Divine sanction to put forward their views in convincing way. Therefore they could not attract and enthral 'Arab minds. The difficult task was left for Prophet Muḥammad to perform.

CHAPTER I

MUHAMMAD THE PROPHET

Early life :—Muḥammad, the son of ‘Abd Allāh (Slave of Allāh) b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib and Āminah (Safe) bint Wahb b. ‘Abd Manāf, was born at Makkah on Monday morning, 22nd April, 571, the 12th day of Rabi‘ al-Awwal¹ fifty-three years before the Hijrah in the year of the Elephant.² He belonged to the Banū Hāshim from his father side and to the Banū Zahrah clan of the Quraysh from his mother’s side. His father died at Madīnah³ on his way back from a trading trip to Ghazza in Syria shortly before his birth.⁴ The responsibility of bringing up the child therefore devolved on his grandfather, ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, a great and influential man of Makkah who carried on the duties of watering and feeding the pilgrims and had dug the well of Zamzam, the original well of Isma‘īl b. Ibrāhīm close to the sanctuary of Ka‘bah, in order to supply water to the pilgrims. He

1. Ibn Ishāq, *Sīrat Rasūl Allāh*, tr. by A. Guillaume, Oxford, 1955 102 text/p. 69 tr. Muḥammad Pasha Falakī an Egyptian writer has established the date of Prophet’s birth on Monday 9th Rabi‘ al-Awwal, 20th April, 571 and this has been accepted by Mawlānā Shīblī Nu‘mānī (cf. *Sīratun Nabi*, Vol. 1, pp. 171-2).
2. Ibn Ishāq, 69, 73.
3. His grave is in the west of Masjid Nabwī.
4. Ibn Ishāq, 62-3/91-3. The water of Zamzam was brackish. In order to make it potable, camel’s milk, honey or raisins were mixed by ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib. The well of Zamzam had been dug originally by Prophet Ibrāhīm (Abraham). cf. Muir, *Caliphate*, 347 nl.

took the child to the Ka'bah according to the 'Arab custom and named him Muḥammad, the highly praised, a name not very common amongst the Arabs¹ and gave a feast on the seventh day of the birth of the child. A maid of Abū Lahab, Thuwaybah by name, the wet-nurse of Ḥamzah, the youngest son of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, was engaged to give suckle to the baby for a week. Then Abū Kabshah's wife Ḥalīmah bint Abū Dhu'ayb of the Banū Sa'd, a branch of the Hawāzin, residing at a distance from Makkah came and took him² to her desert home to bring him up there. The child proved "a blessed creature"³ for Ḥalīmah who nursed him for full five years.⁴ He grew healthy and strong in the open air of the desert and built up a spirit of independence and determination. On his return to his mother, the boy lived at Madīnah for a month when Āminah started for Makkah but she fell sick on the way and died at Abwa.⁵ The sad demise

1. Abu'l Fidā, *Mukhtaṣar Ta'rīkh al-Bashar*, Vol. I, 110.
2. Shāh Mu'in al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Tārīkh-i-Islām*, Vol. I, p. 14. The child was then six months old.
3. Ibn Hishām (*Sirah*, pp. 103-6) writes in detail how Ḥalīmah and other wet-nurses came to Makkah in quest of children to suckle. Her companions received babies to suckle, who had parents, and refused to take Muḥammad because they did not expect handsome remuneration from a fatherless child. Ḥalīmah did not, at first, get any one and therefore at the end she persuaded her husband to take Muḥammad. He agreed and when she returned with the baby he proved a great blessing for the family.
4. Shāh Mu'in al-Dīn Aḥmad Nādvī, *Tārīkh-i-Islām*, Azamgarh, 1952, I, 15—three years.
5. Ibn Ishāq, 107 text /73tr; Shiblī, Vol. 1, p. 175: Muḥammad Ḥamīd Allāh, *Rasūl-i-Akrām Ki Siyāsī Zindagi*, Karachi, 1961, p. 40; Azraki, p. 481 quoted by Margoliouth, *Muhammad and the Rise of Islam*, London, 1905, p. 45.

of the mother and the loneliness of the child in the dreary desert might have made a profound impression on the mind of the orphan. Two years later his guardian, 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, who was aged eighty-two years and had a large family, also died. This was a great loss to the Banū Hāshim as he was a devout worshipper of the tribal deities of Allāh, Manāt and al-'Uzza and as guardian of the Ka'bah provided food and water to the pilgrims in Makkah. His sons, 'Abbās, Abū Lahab, Ḥarīth, Zubayr and Ḥamzah being engaged otherwise, were not interested in shouldering this responsibility.

Another of his sons, Abū Ṭālib, who dealt in cloth and perfumery as a petty business man, although the most generous and the most beloved of the Makkans, was poor.¹ It was upon him that charge of Muḥammad devolved as he and 'Abd Allāh, Muḥammad's father, were born of the same mother. He retained only the charge of *siqāyah* [supplying water (from the well of Zamzam which became afterwards the central well of Makkah) to the pilgrims]² while *rifadah*, provisioning of the pilgrims, which still remained an important office, passed to Abū Sufyān b. Harb b. Ummiyah. This was how Abū Sufyān, the enemy of the Banū Hāshim and particularly of Muḥammad, came to power. There was a long-standing rivalry between the houses of the

1. The decline had set in the clan of Muṭṭalib before the death of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib due to his unsuccessful appeal to Abrahah. Considering the impoverished conditions of his uncle Abū Ṭālib, Muḥammad took his son 'Alī to live with him. By the time Muḥammad began to preach Islam the influence of the family waned.
2. Ibn Ishāq (79 tr) says that the charge of supplying water to the pilgrims was taken over by al-'Abbās the youngest son of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib after his death.

Umayyads and the Hāshimids because Ummiyah and Harb, the grandfather and father of Abū Sufyān respectively, had been ousted from the chieftainship of Makkah by the Banū Hāshim.

Abū Ṭālib employed his young nephew in tending herds of sheep and camel at Uranah near Mt. 'Arafāt¹ while he employed his own son Ja'far to look after the sheep at Badr.² Finding Muḥammad kind-hearted, generous and intelligent, Abū Ṭālib came to love him deeply even more than his own sons. Two years later when Muḥammad was twelve years old Abū Ṭālib prepared to go to Syria on a trading expedition and took Muḥammad along with him. On reaching Buṣrā to the south of Syria uncle and nephew met a Christian monk named Baḥīrā or Buḥayrā who invited the caravan to a feast and recognized in the boy signs of the promised Prophet mentioned in the Christian scriptures³ and advised Abū Ṭālib not to take Muḥammad to Syria lest the Jews recognized his Prophetic signs and did him harm. He had a mark called the seal of the prophetic calling on his back between the two shoulder blades like the imprint of a cupping glass.⁴

1. Cf. Azraki, p. 71 quoted by Margoliouth, p. 51; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1, 80.
2. Cf. Wāqidī, *al-Maghāzi*, p. 73 quoted by Margoliouth, pp. 51.
3. Ibn Ishāq, 115-117 text 179-81 tr. This is the version of 'Arab writers.
4. Ibn Ishāq, pp. 115-117 quoted by Watt in *Muhammad at Mecca*, pp. 36-8 This tradition is also given in Tirmidhi wherein it is also mentioned that Muḥammad was sent back to Arabia from there accompanied by Abū Bakr and Bilal which is not corroborated by historical evidence. There are some Christian writers Draper, Muir and Margoliouth for instance who add

Muhammad's journey to Syria was fruitful. He realized the vastness of the earth and viewed the beauty of sky and star. He also saw the ruins of the Thamūd in the Wādī al-Qurā. Though a boy of twelve years he had developed a keen memory and power of observation. Abū Ṭālib made an unexpected profit in trade and was pleased with the journey.

After their return to Makkah, Muhammad tried in all possible ways to please his uncle, e.g. by supplying water to the pilgrims, carrying on petty business in the town,¹ and assisting him in other ways. He had the occasion to attend the fairs of 'Ukkāz, Dhu'l-Majāz and Mujannah and listen to the religious discourses of the Jews and Christians and the recitations of the poets. In his spare time he also looked after the sheep and camels of his uncle, all these helped him to acquire and develop the qualities of a social worker and reformer and these experiences prepared him to shoulder the great responsibility of prophethood in future.

At the age of fifteen, Muhammad as an assistant to his uncle, Abū Ṭālib and Zubayr, joined the war of Fijār

to this story that Muhammad received religious training from Bahirah which he later on clothed in the garb of Islamic precepts. The fabrication of this part of the story is quite clear from the fact that Muhammad was then of immature age being only twelve years old (cf. Shibli, p. 179 and Shah Mu'in al-Dīn, I, pp. 15-16). Muslim legends about the Prophet's contacts with the Jews and the Christians in his early life are, however, doubted by certain non-Muslim writers who opine that they have been fabricated in order to substantiate his claim of being the True Prophet. Cf. *Cambridge Medieval History*, Vol. XI, p. 306n.

1. Hamīd Allāh, p. 49.

(584-88 A.C.), fought shortly after the expulsion of the Abyssinian expedition of Elephant under Abrāhah between the Quraysh and the Hawāzin. The caravan of the latter tribe while passing by way of al-Ṭā'if on their way to the Yaman from al-Ḥīrah had been plundered and its leader Urwah by name had been killed by Barrad bin Qays of Banū Kinānah the kinsmen of the Quraysh. This led to the war which dragged on for four years with varying results. Peace was concluded in the fifth year and the Quraysh paid *diyat* (blood-wit)¹ for twenty lives. Muḥammad himself did not fight in the battle but assisted the warriors of his tribe picking up stray arrows shot by the Hawāzin and handed them to his uncle Abū Ṭālib, the leader of Banū Hāshim in the war and the poet uncle al-Zubayr. This helped him in learning at first hand 'Arab methods of fighting. He also learnt two other lessons from this war: first, the settling of *diyat* by less wasteful and more satisfactory methods than what had obtained in the war of the Fijār and secondly that war should be fought to a decisive conclusion and not allowed to drag on for years together to the distress of the people.

Muḥammad joined *Ḥilf al-Fudūl* an organisation of the poor clans against oppression and malpractices of the stronger and richer clans established, after the Fijār, by Banū Zahrah and Banū Tamīm. Ibn Hishām and Ḥumaydī state that he had taken oath for his loyalty to this organisation in the house of 'Abd Allāh b. Jud'an and remained loyal to this even after his becoming prophet.²

1. The value of the blood-money of a person was one hundred camels.
2. Cf. *Ṭabaqāt ibn Sa'd*, I, 82; *Mustadrak Ḥākim*, III, 220; cf. Ibn Ishāq, 86 text /57 tr.; Shibli, I, 103; Ḥamid Allāh, 47

The circumstances under which Muḥammad was born and brought up, combined with his inborn habits of thought, made him shun the common and vulgar life of 'Arab youths. Like his ancestor Abraham, he thought idol-worship utterly meaningless and futile and was bent on asserting the independence of his own soul.

Muḥammad entered into trade, the family occupation, but due to financial difficulties he could not carry on independent business. From the age of twenty, he began to join trading caravans as agents of rich Makkans. His integrity in commercial and other transactions earned him the epithet of *al-Amin* (the trustworthy or faithful).¹ It has been recorded that he never broke his word, for instance, according to an appointment made once for commercial transaction he waited for 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥamsā' for three days at the appointed place.² Patience, perseverance fortitude and forbearance were essentials of his character which led him to success as the leader of a great faith.

Muḥammad's honesty in commercial transactions gave him a high place in the Makkan society. Sā'ib and Qays b. Sā'ib transacted business with him and found him honest and fair in dealings.³ Due to his scrupulously fair dealings whomsoever he represented as trading agent profitted handsomely. This enabled him to gain the confidence of high-minded and wealthy Khadijah, the widowed daughter of Khuwaylid b. Asad who was continuing the vocation of commerce with a fortune inherited from her first two husbands.

1. Ibn Hishām, *Sirah*, p. 125 ; Mas'ud, IV, 127 ; Ya'qūbī, II, 18.

2. *Mishkāt*, p. 416 ; Muḥammad Hamīd Allāh, p. 50.

3. Abū Dā'ūd, Vol. II, p. 317 and *Asābah*, Vol. V, 253 quoted by Shiblī, p. 187 ; Muḥammad Ḥamid Allāh, p. 49

While he was about twenty-four years of age Muḥammad, as her agent, went to Syria with her slave Maysarah¹ and her relative Khuzaymah² on a trading expedition in 594 A.C. Maysarah was greatly charmed with his noble behaviour, and by two angels shading him at noon and the prediction of the Rāhib (monk) during this journey regarding his prophethood.³ Muḥammad's immensely profitable transactions at the grain centre of Buṣrā, the principal Byzantine fortress east of the Jordan, earned him four camels in return⁴ and his noble behaviour with Maysarah and Khuzaymah won over the heart of the noble Qurayshite lady, Khadijah, who was then forty years old. She proposed marriage and Muḥammad agreed and paid 500 gold dirhams in dowry. He did not take another wife during her life-time. At the time of this event he was twenty-five years old. Three sons and four daughters were born of this wedlock. His sons Qāsim, Ṭāhir and Ṭayyib died in infancy. The daughters were Ruqayyah, Zaynab, Umm Kulthūm and Fāṭimah who embraced Islam and migrated to Madīnah. Fāṭimah who outlived Muḥammad was married to 'Alī and thus she became the ancestress of the descendants of the Prophet through her sons Ḥasan and Ḥusayn.

In 604 A.C. when Muḥammad was 35 years⁵ old the Ka'bah was damaged severely by flood. This event like that of *Ḥarb al-Fijār* led to persons to desist from

1. Ibn Ishāq, 119-120/82tr.

2. Muḥammad Ḥamīd Allāh, p. '50

3. Tabarī, IV, p. 375 ; Ibn Ishāq, 120/82tr.

4. Muḥammad Ḥamīd Allāh, p. 50.

5. Ibn Ishāq, 122 text/ 84tr. ; Tabarī, *Tā'rikh al-Rasūl wa al-Muluk* IV, 376 ; Muḥammad Ḥamīd Allāh, 57.

idol worship. The Ka'bah (9'x9') was rebuilt by the four chief clans of the Quraysh—Banū Hāshim, Banū Ummiyah, Banū Zahrah and Banū Makḥzum¹ under the supervision of a Greek architect Baqum by name and an Egyptian carpenter. A Greek ship carrying the architect was wrecked in the Red Sea at Juddah and the salvaged materials from the wreck, particularly timber, were utilized in the reconstruction of the Ka'bah.² When the walls reached a man's height the question arose of putting *al-Ḥajar al-Aswad* (the sacred Black stone) in the eastern corner and over this the four Qurayshite clans began to quarrel, each trying to have the honour of placing it in the prescribed spot. To settle this dispute it was agreed on the suggestion made by Ummiyah b. al-Mughīrah that any person who might first enter the Ka'bah through north-eastern door of Mazkat³ would be asked to act as the mediator. It so happened that Muḥammad al-Amīn came in first and thus the matter was referred to him. He rose to this challenge by aiming at a most wise and satisfactory solution. He placed the sacred stone on a piece of cloth and asked the representatives of each of the four contending clans to hold a corner of the cloth and to carry it to the eastern corner. Muḥammad al-Amīn lifted the stone and put it in its proper place.⁴ The stone is now imbedded in the wall about fifty-eight inches above the floor. Like the other members of the Quraysh Muḥammad also contributed voluntary labour in the task of rebuilding the sacred edifice of the Ka'bah.

1. *Tārīkh-i-Ṭabarī*, IV, 375.

2. Ibn Ishāq, 122/84tr.

3. *Tārīkh-i-Ṭabarī* (Per. tr.), IV, p. 376.

4. *Mustadrak Ḥākim*, I, 458.

Makkan Period :—The marriage with Khadījah gave Muḥammad relief from pecuniary anxieties and enabled him to devote his time fully to his own adoration of God. In this pursuit and the quest for Truth he began to frequent the top of Hīrā (Jabal al-Nūr)¹ a hill about three miles from Makkah, in every Ramaḍān. There he fasted and prayed and often became so absorbed with these that he even forgot to eat. Gradually his whole life came to be dedicated to contemplation but he never severed his relation with humanity unlike hermits. He began to see in his dreams the answers to his queries regarding the mystery of God.² Passing his life thus in meditation for about five years³ until at the age of forty the first Divine revelation came down to him.

Once when Muḥammad (peace of God be upon him) was asleep in the little cave of Hīrā' he saw a vision that Gabriel aroused him from slumber and asked him to recite *Iqra' bism-i-Rabbika al-ladhī Khalaq* (Read in the name of thy Lord who created). This was on the Night of Destiny (*Laylat al-qadr*), 27th Ramaḍān,⁴ 610 A. C. He recited as told and looked around to seek his ecstatic reciter but could find none.⁵

Thus came a direct answer to his search for Reality and in this way began his prophetic career. He then rushed to his house under great emotional stress and asked Bībī Khadījah to heap blankets on him saying, "I

1. Muḥammad Ḥamīd Allāh, 63.

2. Cf. *Mishkāt*, 513.

3. Muḥammad Ḥamīd Allāh, 63.

4. The *Qur'ān* (Surah 2. 181) says, "The month of Ramaḍān in which the *Qur'ān* was brought down as a guidance to men, and proofs of guidance and a decisive criterion."

5. Cf. *Bukhārī*, 65.

am in fear for my life." She consoled him thus, "I swear by Allāh that He will not bring shame upon you as you cherish your nearest relatives, support the invalid, earn for the destitute, entertain the guest and help the just in danger."¹ Then he heard the words commanding him, "Thou who are enwrapped in thy blanket ! Arise and warn."² This being the opening verse of the *Surat al-Mudaththir* marks the beginning of his public ministry. He was subject of paroxysm (a violent fever) which is explained by theologians as symptom of Divine inspiration. He related to his wife all that had happened in the *Ghār-i-Ḥirā'*. Finding him agitated deeply she assured him of Divine protection in his mission and recited the very same verse which he had been taught in the cave of Ḥirā'. She became convinced of his prophethood all the more when she consulted her cousin, Waraqah b. Nawfal, a Ḥanīf by belief who had studied the *Bible*, the *Torah* and the *Gospel* and assured her of her husband's prophethood. She declared her belief in the Unity of God and in the Prophethood of Muḥammad.

Later when Muḥammad met Waraqah b. Nawfal in the Ka'bah the latter assured him of his prophetic career and cautioned him saying, "They will belie thee, harm thee, expel thee and fight thee."³ This meeting lightened Muḥammad's anxiety.

Waraqah's words burnt deep in the heart of Muḥammad but the tasks he faced in his Prophetic career appeared

1. Cf. *Bukhārī*, Delhi, 1309 H., p. 3.
2. *Qur'ān*, 74 : 1 seq. These two revelations had been originally interpreted by the Prophet as visions of God Himself. There is no mention of Gabriel's coming to him in the Makkan surahs.
3. Cf. Ibn Ishāq, 154 text 107 tr.

insuperable. To lead his people addicted to drinking, gambling, killing and idol worship on to love of God was a great challenge. Now the goal of his life was to be the humble tool for the execution of the Divine purpose but he did not know how to proceed. He, therefore, sought enlightenment from God. God showed him the way but left him to walk it alone. The message brought to Muḥammad like that of other Prophets was the Unity of God, the Day of Resurrection, the life hereafter, paradise for the faithful and hell for sinners. Hence the early Makkan surahs dealt mainly with three themes (1) the Unity and attributes of God, (2) the moral duties of mankind, and (3) the retribution in the next world.

The Prophet received the third revelation by which he was assured of his success in mission by God Himself but this carried heavy responsibilities and the Makkans were difficult people to be convinced of the Unity of God and Muḥammad's being the messenger (*Rasūl*) and prophet (*Nabī*) of Allāh.¹

1. The heathen 'Arabs charged him with fabricating his revelations out of material supplied by foreigners which is emphatically denied in the *Qur'ūn* (ch. XVI-105, XXX, 5). Today Christian writers like Bevan are of the opinion that this was not possible as Muḥammad was not literate but that he must have derived all his information from oral sources (cf. *Cambridge History*, p. 305).

Watt (p. 52) says, "Since Carlyle's *Lecture on Muḥammad* in *Heroes and Hero Worship* the West has been aware there was a good case to be made out for believing in Muḥammad's sincerity. His readiness to undergo persecution for his beliefs, the high moral character of the men who believed in him and looked up to him as leader, and the greatness of his ultimate achievement—all argue his fundamental integrity. To suppose Muḥammad an impostor raises more problems than it solves. Moreover, none of the great figures of history is so poorly appreciated

Faith and precept began at home and Muhammad led the first Muslim prayer with Khadijah following him. Next to Khadijah, 'Alī the eldest son of Abū Ṭalib and the adopted son and cousin of Muhammad, a lad of ten years,¹ accepted Islām² and joined them in prayers the following morning. Later Zayd b. Hārith the freedman of Muhammad accepted Islām. Muhammad's kinsman and friend Abū Bakr b. Abū Quḥāfah al-Tayyīmī 'Atīq the richest merchant of Makkah³ and the most trusted among the 'Arabs after Muhammad and a great literate person of wide experience accepted Islām. He became the Messenger's messenger and expounded his message openly and called others to God and his Prophet thus converting 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf, Ṭalḥah b. 'Ubayd Allāh, Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ, Abū 'Ubaydah b. Jarrāḥ and Zubayr b. 'Awwām. He spent a substantial portion of his wealth on the purchase of six Muslim slaves⁴ and setting them free from the persecution of their masters. Later he similarly purchased the freedom of Bilāl b. Ribāḥ, an Abyssinian slave, from his master Ummiyah b. Khalaf b. Wahb. The Quraysh took pleasure in torturing the converts. Slaves who accepted the new faith were purchased in which monetary contribution

in the West as Muhammad. Western writers have mostly been prone to believe the worst of Muhammad and wherever an objectionable interpretation of an act seemed plausible have tended to accept it as fact."

1. Ibn Ishāq, 159 text/114 tr.
2. His followers became known 'as Muslims (those who submit to God and thereby find peace) and their religion Islām (surrendered to the Wills of God).
3. At the time of conversion to Islam he had 40,00 dirhams in cash (Shibli, 1,206).
4. Ibn Ishāq, 205/144.

of Abū Bakr played significant roles.¹ But their means were far from adequate for protecting all their fellow believers from torture and oppression. Men of social importance if accepted were branded as fool, destroyed of their reputation and were threatened of social and commercial boycott. Due to their commercial enterprises and social set-up, the Makkans did not like any change to be introduced in their old social frame work. They had defeated and driven back the Abyssinian Viceroy, Abrāhah, when he tried to divert the attention of the 'Arabs from the Ka'bah to the Temple of Yaman by dismantling the former.

Due to the fear of the Quraysh the preaching of Islām was done with great secrecy and the converts used to offer prayers going beyond the limits of Makkah. His aristocratic fellow-citizens who had been formerly on good terms with him and had honoured him with the epithet of *al-Amīn* disdained to believe in his teaching after he had denounced the deities of their fathers.

The Quranic verses which descended on him in this private period are few and brief and in which references to past history are found while those belonging to the earlier part of his public life are numerous. The sum and substance of his teaching during this period was "I believe in God, His angels, His books, His Prophets and the Doomsday and all good and evil are from God."²

He consoled himself by the example of earlier prophets who suffered equally. Three years passed in this way but the preaching of Islām could not remain concealed as the number of male and female converts increased.

1. Abū Bakr purchased Bilal, 'Amir b. Faherah, Labmah, Zumayrah, Nahdiyah, Umm 'Ubays and others by paying heavily and set them free (*Shibli*, 1, 232).

2. Cf. *Hamīd Allāh, Rasūl-i-Akram*, p. 71.

People began to talk of Islām but the chiefs and priests ignored their talks. Abū Sufyān, the custodian of the Ka'bah, like the other Qurayshites who were mainly men of the world, stood adamant due to his economic and social interests. Many called Muḥammad mad while others considered him to be a poet and magician. However a time came when Muḥammad was commanded by God to publish his religion. God said, "Warn thy family, thy nearest relations, and lower thy wing to the followers who follow thee."¹

Accordingly he went to the top of the hill of Ṣafā and called the Quraysh. They gathered there and Muḥammad addressed them that if they would not believe in one God they would suffer from severe heavenly punishment. They became angry and dispersed.²

A few days after he invited his relatives numbering about forty on a feast and after the feast was over he called upon them to believe in God and sought their assistance in preaching Islam. His uncle, 'Abd al-'Uzza nicknamed Abū Lahab, declared him to be an impostor and the Banū Hāshim ridiculed his idea and left him. It was only 'Alī from his relatives who in spite of his young age promised to help him. He appealed to them on other occasions too but he was only hated and despised.

In the early stage he prayed twice a day at day-break and night ('Ishā'). In the morning he prayed in an assembly in front of the Ka'bah and spoke ill of idol worship. This infuriated the Quraysh who incited one another against him. 'Atbah b. Rabi'ah was sent to offer him the chieftainship of Makkah and the hand of a girl of high lineage and to induce him to give up preaching Islām. But Muḥammad did not

1. Sūrah 26, 214.

2. *Bukhārī*, II, 702.

accept any and read a few verses from the Qur'an which charmed 'Atbah so much that he returned to plead his case before the Makkans.¹

Now the Quraysh warned Abū Ṭālib to restrain his nephew Muḥammad from launching attacks on their idol worship and their customs as otherwise they would resort to violent measures against him. Abū Ṭālib persuaded him to abstain from his activities and save his family from disaster but finding him resolute in his determination he said, "Go and say what you please, for by God I will never give you up on any account."² These encouraging words infused a new spirit in Muḥammad and emboldened him to preach Islām openly. Due to clannish attachment (*aṣabīyah* system), he was sure of protection from his uncle and the Banū Hāshim though they did not have any sympathy for his doctrines. Muḥammad was, however, still exposed to continual insults and annoyances and his followers, specially the poor and slaves, had to endure the cruellest persecution. Two persons died under the tortures. They dragged Muḥammad along once by his beard.³ But all offers of honour and aggrandisement failed to induce Muḥammad from abandoning his missionary work. The violent abuse and insult which he met moved his uncle the most unyielding Ḥamzah, his erstwhile bitter enemy who when drunk taunted him by calling him his father's slave,⁴ and transformed him into a great supporter of Muḥammad. The hostility of the Quraysh became severe in bitterness as the number of Muslims increased.

1. Ibn Hishām, I, 154-55.

2. Ibn Ishāq, 168 text/119; Shibli, I, p. 221.

3. Ibn Ishāq, 184 text/131 tr.

4. Bukhārī, Vol. VII, 270.

From the fourth year of his mission he began to preach Islām in the house of al-Arqam situated near the Ka'bah on Mount Ṣafā and frequented by pilgrims and strangers. A mosque was constructed in the compound of the house of Abū Bakr and the Qur'ān was recited which the tribesmen came to hear. These had a great bearing on the history of the Prophet's missionary work and people began to embrace Islām in greater numbers. The bitterness of persecution increased and the resources of the believers were insufficient to meet the needs of their starving brethren. Rich and grown up people like 'Uṭhmān, Zubayr, S'īd b Zayd, Abū Dharr also did not escape from the torture of the Quraysh. Finding himself unable to relieve his followers from oppression and torture, two years after his public preaching the Prophet advised them to take refuge in Abyssinia. Accordingly eleven men and four women¹ under Ja'far, in the fifth year of the mission, proceeded to Abyssinia where they were hospitably received by the Christian ruler Negus (Najjāshah) whose army sent to the relief of the persecuted Christians in South Arabia had been repulsed by the heathen 'Arabs. They were followed by some eighty-three men and twenty women under 'Uṭhmān ibn 'Affān accompanied by his wife Ruqayyah in 615 A. C.

It is not known how the refugees earned their livelihood and how they passed their days in Abyssinia but one outcome of this was that the Negus remained a true friend of Prophet Muḥammad and favourably disposed towards Islām throughout his life.² The Quraysh were not inclined to allow the Muslims to live in peace even in that distant land. The Makkans who still remembered the devastating invasions of the Abyssinians thought that Najjāshah might possibly be tempted to intervene on behalf of the Muslims.

1. Cf. Ṣhiblī, 1, 234-5; Ibn Ishāq, 208-15/146-48.

2. Cf. Morgoliouth, pp. 158-162

They, therefore, sent an embassy to Abyssinia to persuade the King to hand over the Makkan fugitives to them as prisoners. But the Negus refused to honour the request and the mission returned discomfeted.¹

The Prophet continued fearlessly to propogate Islām. One of his bitterest enemies ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb a young man of ability and perseverance who was related to the powerful Makhzūm clan from his motherside once went out, sword in hand, in search of Muḥammad. On his way he learnt that his own brother-in-law, Sa‘īd, had accepted the new faith. He rushed to Sa‘īd and found him reciting the Qur’ān and attempted to kill him. His sister Fāṭimah intervened and saved her husband by receiving wounds herself. Finding them firm in their belief ‘Umar read a few lines of the Holy Book and being greatly impressed exclaimed, “How beautiful how sublime it is” and expressed his willingness to be converted to Islām. He was led to Prophet Muḥammad and enrolled in the service of Allāh in the 6th year of the mission² the year prophet’s uncle Ḥamzah had accepted Islām.

It is said that one day on his return from hunting Ḥamzah went direct to the Ka’bah to circumambulate it and when he learnt about the torture of Muḥammad by Abū Lahab and met the latter there he struck him a violent blow with his bow and accepted Islām in protest resolving to defend Muḥammad.³ Since then the Quraysh abandoned some of their ways of harassing Muḥammad and began offering

1. Ibn Ishāq, pp. 219-220; Ibn Hishām, I, 181 seq; Musnad ibn Ḥanbal, I, 202; Ibn Sa‘d, Vol. I, pt. 1, pp. 136-9; Arnold, Thomas, *The preaching of Islam*, p. 16; Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, p. 114,

2. Ibn Sa‘d, III, 193.

3. Ibn Ishāq, 185 text/132 tr. ; Ḥamīd Allāh, 73.

wealth and honour which all the Prophet rejected.¹ The conversion of 'Umar to Islām was a turning point in the history of Islām. Now the Prophet felt strengthened to leave the house of al-Arqam and the Muslims were emboldened to say their prayers together in open assembly in the precincts of the Ka'bah itself.

The attempted consolidation of the Muslim position enraged the Quraysh who resolved to check the further growth of Islām. The Prophet was declared an outlaw whom anyone could torture and punish. The Banū Hāshim were offered two alternatives either to surrender the impostor or suffer the penalty of social ostracism. They preferred the second alternative and were therefore boycotted by the Quraysh and all further commercial transactions and marriage relations and social intercourse with them ceased. Abū Lahab forswore his membership of the clan and escaped the ban. Abū Ṭālib, though indifferent to the mission of his nephew, indignantly rejected the Makkans' request to withdraw his protecting hand and suffered social boycott along with Muḥammad in the 7th year of the mission (616 A. C.). Thereupon the Quraysh entered into an agreement against the Banū Hāshim and hung the deed up in the middle of the Ka'bah to remind them of their obligations.²

The Banū Hāshim were confined in Abū Ṭālib's ravine (mountain pass belonging to the Banū Hāshim) where they depended in part on the supply of Khadijah's nephew Ḥakim b. Ḥazām and a near relation of the Banū Hāshim, Hishām b. 'Amr,³ for three years. During this period the Prophet used to take advantage of the sacred months of truce to preach his religion among the pilgrims belonging to various

1. Ibn Ishāq, 186-8/132-134, 186-90/132-39 tr.

2. *Ibid.*, 230/159 tr.

3. *Ibid.*, 247/172 tr.

tribes. Abū Lahab used to undermine his efforts by proclaiming him loudly as an impostor. The enemies of Islām, however, unwillingly assisted the indirect propagation of Islām. Thus on the occasion of pilgrimage, the Quraysh pitched their tents on the common ways. Very often the pilgrims entering the city used to enquire about the appearance of a Prophet among the Quraysh, but even if they did not enquire about him, the Quraysh themselves with a view to nip the growth of Islam in the bud warned the newcomers that there had appeared in the city a *Ṣābī* (impostor) who spoke ill of their deities and wanted to lead them astray from the faith of their forefathers against whose teachings they should guard themselves. From the commencement of *Dhū al-Qa'dah* the neighbouring tribes of Makkah held their fairs for twenty days at 'Ukkāz, for ten days at Mujannah and for eight days at *Dhū al-Majāz*. Muḥammad went round their encampments and preached Islām.

The social and economic blockade of the Muslims became ineffective because of the generosity of the Makkans. Muṭ'im b. 'Adīy and Hishām b. 'Amr went out of their way to render service to Muḥammad.¹ The sufferings endured by the Prophet and his kinsmen, the Banū Hāshim, and the Banū Muṭṭalib moved the hearts of a section of the Quraysh, Hishām Makhzūmī, Zubayr and others and won public opinion in their favour.² The ban was therefore lifted and the agreement was torn to pieces. About this time the Muslim refugees including thirty-three companions of the Prophet returned from Abyssinia.³ A little later a delegation of twenty Abyssinian Christians came and accepted Islam.⁴ In the same year

1. Ibn Ishāq, 247-8/172 tr.; Margoliouth, p. 168.

2. *Ibid.*, 247-8/172-3 tr.

3. *Ibid.*, 241-43/167-9.

4. *Ibid.*, 259/179 tr.

(619 A. C.) Khadījah who had been Muḥammad's companion in sorrow and joy died,¹ and a little later died Abū Ṭālib his other great supporter, although not an avowed Muslim. This made the position of the Prophet precarious, exposed him afresh to insult and torture and opened for him a period of severe test and trial.

It was in the same year (619 A.C.) Prophet Muḥammad started on his celebrated nocturnal flight (night journey) to the Seventh Heaven (*isra*) in which he was transported on the back of the *Burāq* which has been described as a winged horse with a woman's face and peacock's tail. The first stage of the flight was from Makkah to Bayt al-Muqaddas (Jerusalem) whence began his ascent (*mi'rāj*) to the Seventh Heaven where God revealed to him His marvels.² Thus Jerusalem, the holy city of the Jews and Christians, also became sacred to the Musulmāns. From this time the five daily prayers became obligatory while the practice of fasting each year during the month of Ramaḍān was imposed upon Muslims from the second year of the Hijrah (March, 624).

After the death of Abū Ṭālib in September 619 the chieftainship of the Banū Hāshim devolved upon the Prophet's uncle Abū Lahab who had joined the opposit camp against the Banū Hāshim during the days of ostracism. The Makkans became the inveterate enemies of the Muslims. The Holy Prophet, therefore, began to consider the possibility of finding a home beyond Makkah and began to

1. After Khadījah, the Prophet married Saudah b. Zama'ah and then several others mostly on political ground in order to bind his chief followers and tribes more closely to himself.
2. *Qur'an*, 17: 1; *Bukhārī*, IV, pp. 156, 230; Ibn Ishāq, 263/181-83. Abū Bakr received the honorific title al-Ṣiddiq from Prophet Muḥammad on testifying his description of the Night Journey (Ibn Ishāq, 265/183).

contact the 'Arab nomads and the citizens of al-Ṭā'if and Yathrib which later became known as Madīnah. Al-Ṭā'if was a mercantile centre about seventy miles to the south of Makkah a sort of smaller replica of Makkah. Prophet Muḥammad, therefore, set out for al-Ṭā'if first and invited the Banū Ṭhaqīf of that city to accept Islām and help the Muslims against the persecution of the Makkans. The Banū Ṭhaqīf who had trade relations with the Makkans scorned and ridiculed him and their children stoned him out of the city.¹

On his return from al-Ṭā'if the Prophet was opposed by his people more bitterly than ever. He, therefore, took protection with the influential Makkan Muṭ'im b. 'Adīy for about two years. During this period he preached Islām among the pilgrims and Abū Lahab told the pilgrims not to believe him.² Muḥammad's prospects in Makkah were, however, deteriorating fast and he continued with his plan to leave it for another safe place. Invitations came to him from various tribes but none of these appeared suitable and waited for any yet better opportunity. In time, a more favourable prospect appeared. This was the possibility of receiving invitation from his maternal town Yathrib

Negotiations with the Yathribites : Yathrib lies in a well-watered plain of the northern Ḥijāz near a mountain ridge which separates the Najd from the Tihamah. It was originally inhabited by the Banū Qurayzah and the Banū Naḍīr. Two other important tribes the Aws and the Khazraj were emigrants from South Arabia. The Jews and the pagans of Yathrib were perpetually fighting between themselves. During these, on many occasions, the Jews threatened the pagans with the

1. Zarqanī, I, 358

2. Ibn Ishāq, pp. 286-7/198; cf. Margoliouth, p. 20; Shiblī, I, p. 262; Ḥamīd Allah, p. 75.

impending appearance of the long-awaited Messiah who would avenge the injuries inflicted on them. During the campaigns of Abrahah in South Arabia the Jews of Madīnah suffered from economic set-back and fell under the economic domination of the Aws and Khazraj. The Naḍir and Qurayzah tribes of the Jews were however still powerful. Finally, civil wars between the Banī Aws and Khazraj, which divided the Jews in the two camps, were fought at Bu'ath and other places. To end the dissensions and the internecine strife the services of a reformer and a mediator from outside Yathrib was required. During the pilgrimage in the year 620 A.C. the Holy Prophet met a group of six Yathribites of the Khazraj tribe whose kinsmen had accepted Judaism but they were still heathens at 'Aqabah a pass between Makkah and Mīna, a few miles from the former and invited them to accept Islam. They said among themselves, "This is the very Prophet of whom the Jews warned us. Don't let them get to him before us"¹ They accepted the new faith and promised to preach Islām in their native city on their return. They were six in number. Yathrib had long been occupied by the Jews and other 'Arab tribes some of whom had accepted Judaism. There were others, however, who remained heathens although well-aware of the possible appearance of a Prophet. Thus they were already mentally more equipped to accept Islām than the Makkan heathens were. Further the city was torn asunder by the feuds of the Khazraj and the Aws and any tie likely to bind these two conflicting parties together would have been hailed by the Yathribites. This was an advantageous factor for the spread of Islām and establishment of its political supremacy in Madīnah. The disciplined society of Islām appeared most suited for replacing the unruly Madinite society and Muḥammad from now onwards

began to plan for the transfer of his venue of preaching Islām from Makkah to a congenial place of Madīnah.

In the following year a deputation of twelve men,¹ ten of the Banū Khẓrāj and two of the Banū Aws, came and waited on Muḥammad at al-‘Aqabah the appointed place for the meeting. They entered into a series of negotiations which changed finally and entirely the life of the Prophet, the future of Islām and the history of the world. These twelve men returned to Madīnah accompanied by Muṣ‘ab b. ‘Umayr who had lately returned from Abyssinia and was enjoined to instruct the new converts and to keep the Holy Prophet informed of the progress made at Madīnah. Due to the joint efforts of these two groups of the Yathribites Islām became so well-known in Madīnah that there hardly remained a family which was not conversant with Islām and its tenets. Muṣ‘ab who was called ‘The Reader’ stayed in the house of As‘ad b. Zurārah and offered prayers with the converts and taught them to read the Qur’an.² He often went to preach in the house of the Banū Zafar. Sa‘d b. Ma‘ādh, the chief of the Banū Aws, accepted Islam. As a result all the members of the Aws with the exception of one branch of the Banū Aws led by the poet Abū Qays b. al-Aslat accepted Islām and the number of the converts increased considerably.

A year later, in 622 A. C., a deputation of seventy-two persons,³ including the early converts of Yathrib and their teacher Muṣ‘ab b. ‘Umayr came to invite Muḥammad to Yathrib. Thus the long sought opportunity to preach Islām in a safe place and congenial atmosphere came to the Prophet.

1. Shibli, I, 264.

2. Ibn Ishāq, 290/199 tr.

3. Zarqanī, I, 371-76; Shibli, I, 264-6.

The Prophet invited them to God and commending Islām said, "I invite your allegiance on the basis that you protect me as you would do your women and children." To this their spokesman al-Bara', a poet, replied, "By Him who sent you with thy truth we will protect you as we protect our women."¹ Interrupting them Abu'l-Haytham b. al-Tayyihān said that after gaining victory the Prophet might return to Makkah leaving the Anṣārs separated from the Jews. The Prophet smiled and assured the Anṣārs of his life long attachment with them saying "I am of you and you are of me"² and entrusted the charge of their people's affairs with nine representatives from al-Khazrāj and three from al-Aws.³ It was about this time the Prophet received order from God to fight against the Quraysh. Before the second meeting at 'Aqabah he had been ordered to call men to God and forgive the ignorant.⁴ Thus to preach Islām peacefully and to prepare for fight against the Makkans migration to Madīnah became compulsory for the Muslims. A secret meeting, attended by Prophet Muḥammad and also his uncle 'Abbās who had not accepted Islām but was favourably disposed towards the Prophet, was held at 'Aqabah at midnight. The decisions were taken in the meeting regarding the Muslims' migration to Madīnah. A programme for the migration was therefore chalked out and the Yathribites offered a guarantee for the security of the Holy Prophet and his followers. The presence of 'Abbās in the meeting at the request of the Yathribites according to the 'Abbāsīd views was inexplicable. This was possibly done because they were afraid that they might later be charged of carrying off Muḥammad

1. Ibn Ishāq, 296/203

2. *Ibid.*, 297/204 ; *Sirat Ibn Hishām*, I, 242

3. *Ibid.*, 297/204

4. *Ibid.*, 313/212

by force or persuasion even though he was then under the protection of Banū Nawfal and not the Banū Hāshim with a view to have someone of his relatives an eye witness to testify, in case of necessity, that Muḥammad's migration was voluntary.

Hijrat : As the Quraysh got scent of the secret proceedings, the Muslims could not leave Makkah in a body for Yathrib but by twos and threes quietly. Thus his followers about 150 in number, excluding those who were imprisoned by the Makkans in the summer of 622, left for Yathrib. A Greek slave Suhayl who had accepted Islām and amassed wealth by trade was not allowed by the Quraysh to join the Muslims until he relinquished all his property.¹ Finally when Muhammad, who had remained behind with Abū Bakr and 'Alī to settle the business affairs of the followers, came to know of a plot hatched by Abū Jahl in league with others to kill him during his sleep and prepared for his migration to Yathrib. Meanwhile his house was besieged. He received the surah Yāsīn, threw dust on the besiegers and leaving behind Ḥadrat 'Alī in his own bed to settle the debts and trusts² and his besiegers in sound sleep, started for Madīnah. At the time of leaving Makkah he looked towards the Ka'bah and remarked that Makkah was the dearest to him of all the places in the world but its children did not allow him to live in it.³ He was accompanied by Ḥadrat Abū Bakr who had meanwhile prepared for the journey and purchased two camels for himself and another for the Prophet. The Quraysh announced one man's blood-wit (one hundred camels) as a prize for handing over Muḥammad or Abū Bakr to them.

1. Tabarī, I, p. 1256; Mas'ūdī, IX, 53. '

2. Ibn Ishāq, 328/224

3. Shiblī, I, 271

Surāqah b. Ja'shm went in pursuit of them but failed to capture them and returned disappointed. For three days and nights Muḥammad and Abū Bakr remained hidden in a cave of Jibal Thawr three miles below Makkah.¹ There they were supplied with food by Abū Bakr's daughter 'Asma'² and Abū Bakr's son 'Abd Allāh visited and reported every night about the movement of the Makkans. Meanwhile they were joined by 'Alī who had been imprisoned for a little while in the Ka'bah and then set free by the Quraysh.³

On the 20th September 622 the Prophet and his party guided by the tracker 'Abd Allāh ibn Arqat reached Qubā' about three miles south of Yathrib where he was entertained by Kulthūm.⁴ On the fifteenth⁵ he gave his she-camel a free rein. She stayed in the quarter of the Khazraj and Prophet Muḥammad took his sojourn at the house of the Khazraj Abū Ayyūb Khālīd and Ibn Mālik b. al-Najjār and stayed with them for seven months. This eventful year was the fiftieth of his life. Zayd and the Prophet's slave Abū Rafī' were sent with five hundred dirhams to bring the women folk who had remained behind at Makkah. They came and joined the Prophet except Zaynab who was not allowed to migrate by her husband.

The Hijrah era of the Muslims and the *Risālat* period of the Prophet began from the date of his exodus.⁶ As long as the Holy Prophet was at Makkah he was only *Nabi* (Prophet). But

1. Zarqanī, Vol. I, 380, quoted by Shibli, I, 271.

2. Ibn Ishāq, 329/224

3. Tābarī, III, 1234 quoted by Shibli, I, 272n1

4. Ibn Hajar, *Kitāb al-Isābah*, III, 613-14

5. Shibli (Vol. I, 275) quoting Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī says that the Prophet stayed fourteen days.

6. Cf. Shibli, I, 280; A Guillaume, *The Life of Muhammad*, 223n2

with the Hijrah the Makkan preparatory period ended and the Yathribite period of propagation and expansion began. This was the burning point in the life of Muḥammad and Islām the religion of peace he preached.

On arriving at Yathrib or Madīnah the diminutive form of *Madinat al-Nabi* (the city of the Prophet) which was a scattered group of villages, he was commanded by God to act as *rasul* (apostle) to convey His message to humanity. His first act in this came to construct a mosque adjacent to the house of Abū Ayyūb Anṣārī where he stayed for prayer and assembly of his followers *muhājirs* (refugees) and *ansars* (helpers).

Madinite Period: The main achievement of Muḥammad in Makkah was the foundation of a new religion of Islām which was broadly completed by the time of the Hijrah but its institutions which were still in a rudimentary state were organized in the Madinite period. It has been wrongly stated by certain writers that Muḥammad on arrival at Madīnah laid aside his role of preacher and, that after collecting a large body of followers, started living a political life. Actually the work of preaching Islām was expedited in the comparatively peaceful atmosphere of Madīnah. At home he constructed mosque for leading prayers and holding religious meetings and abroad he sent a number of missionaries for preaching Islām. He was, however, never aggressive or fanatical in his preaching. Muir observes "he did not profess to force men to join Islām, or to punish them for not embracing it." ¹ Formal prayers were established and other precepts of Islām—fasting, paying zakāt and performing pilgrimage—were also rigorously enjoined. A plot of land adjacent to the house of Abū Ayyūb belonging

1. Muir, 322; Cf. Arnold, pp. 33-4.

to Banū Najjār was purchased for building the mosque from the money offered by the Prophet's host.

The Prophet and his followers built the mosque with their own hands. It was simply constructed. Its foundations were laid with stones, its walls were made of unbaked bricks and its columns consisted of trunks of palm trees. The roof was covered with palm leaves and its earthen floor was stewn with gravel.¹ At one end of the structure a covered platform called *Ṣuffah* was reserved for a seminary and dwelling for the homeless and unattached *muhājirūn* (emigrés) who dedicated themselves to the study of religion.² They were joined by later converts who had no family. They became known as *aṣḥāb al-Ṣuffah* (the dwellers in a covered gallery of courtyard) and in time became religious preachers who spread Islam in and beyond Arabia. Attached to the mosque were two apartments built within seven months for the residence of the Prophet and his family. Later in the Prophet's courtyard, a reception tent was pitched for tribal delegations.

The mosque did not have a *miḥrāb* (niche) and a *minbar* (pulpit). The northern wall served the purpose of *qiblah* (direction of prayer) and had a date palm post for Prophet Muḥammad to hold on and lean upon at the time of delivering sermon.

Sixteen months after, in the second Hijrah (623 A. C.), the direction of prayer was changed from the Temple of

1. Caliph 'Umar enlarged it and 'Uthmān reconstructed it with stones and gypsum and built columns of stone and roofs of teak-wood. In 87H/ 705A. C. 'Umar ibn 'Ahd al-'Azīz under the direction of Caliph Walīd, got it rebuilt by eighty Greek and Coptic artisans. Under the 'Abbāsīd Caliph one hundred cubits were added to the rear making it 300 cubits long and 200 cubits wide.

2. Shīblī, 292-94.

Solomon (Jerusalem) to that of Abraham, Ka'bah.¹ Pilgrimage to Makkah became incumbent now as also the ritual kissing of Ḥajar al-Aswad (the sacred Black-Stone) put originally by Ḥaḍrat Ibrāhīm to mark the beginning point of Ṭawāf (going round the holy sanctuary of K'abah).² This change of *qiblah* for the Islamic prayer was the symbolization of the distinctive religious identity and unity of Islām while the pilgrimage to Makkah later (2nd H/ April 624) was the perpetuation of the ancient 'Arab custom in commemoration of Abraham. The date palm post removed from the north to the south was finally replaced by a pulpit of tamarisk planks erected near the southern wall.

The first Friday congregational prayer was held on the day of the Prophet's arrival from Quba' at the quarter of Banū Salīm b. 'Awf in Madīnah. Hereupon the Faithful were summoned to prayer at appointed hours by the *adhān* (call to prayer),³ the first mu'dhḍhin being the Abyssinian Ḥaḍrat Bilāl.

Madīnah supplied ample scope for the fulfilment of the Prophetic mission. Tribal feuds needed the service of a supreme selfless judge which Madīnah had in Muḥammad. His great task was to modify the nomadic ethics in order to suit the new environment and society.

Next the Prophet established firm brotherhood between the *Anṣārs* (the helpers) and the *Muhājirs* (the refugees), who were then only forty-five in number. By this unique bond of brotherhood, each refugee was associated with a helper. The helper took his refugee brother to his house and apportioned him an equal share in all his belongings.⁴

1. Qur'an, 11 : 139 ; al-Ṭabarī, I, 1279 f.

2. Shibli, I, 155.

3. Bukhārī, p. 161

4. Cf. Ibn Hishām, p. 179; Shibli, I, 288-292

The helpers being agriculturists in the main, cultivated mostly the date palm and barley while the refugees being essentially artisans and traders were accustomed only to the handling of tools and merchandise, the helpers did all the work in the fields and gave their Muhājir brethren equal shares in the produce. If either of the two 'brothers,' Anṣār and Muhājir, died his property was inherited by his brother-in-faith and not by his brother-in-blood—so strong were the implications of this brotherhood.¹ This social and economic arrangement allowed the Muhajirs to settle down and pursue gainful avocations and scientifically to cement the foundation of early Islamic society. However, the Qur'anic verses, received after the battle of Badr, prohibited such inheritance and enjoined that only blood-relations should inherit the property of the deceased.²

In the same way as the Anṣārs were prepared to make sacrifices for their refugee-co-religionists, the Muhājirs were reluctant to exploit this fact to their own advantage. They engaged themselves in trade, started cottage industries³ and began to earn their own living. 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Awf was an example of a Muhājir who set up his own independent business in the market of Qaynuqā' and became a very rich merchant of the city within a short time.⁴ In the first year of the migration, the Muslims were in dire economic distress. But gradually there evolved a society whose members not only earned enough for their

1. *Sūrah Anfāl*. 10 quoted by *Shiblī*, pp.285-6.

2. *Shiblī*, p 286

3. Abū Bakr had his industry at Sakh. *Cf.* Ibn Sa'd, III, 130 quoted by *Shiblī*, 287

4. *Cf.* *Uṣd al-Ghābah*, Vol. IV, pp. 314-5. 'Umar and 'Uthmān also engaged in trade. *Musnad Ibn Hanbal*, IV, 347 and 400

own livings but were enabled to spare something as contributions to the *Bayt al-Māl* (Public Treasury) instituted for communal welfare in 9 A.H. The joint efforts of the Anṣārs and the Muhājirs resulted in the early Islamic society ultimately attaining selfsufficiency and affluence.

The Charter of Madīnah: Subsequent to the creation and consolidation of brotherly feelings between the Anṣārs and the Muhājirs the Prophet turned his attention to the establishment of friendly relations among the various tribes of Madīnah, viz., the Aws, the Khazraj, Banū Qurayzah, Banū Naḍīr and Banū Qaynuqā'.¹ There was traditional tribal rivalry between the heathen tribes, the Aws and the Khazraj, and the majority of the peoples belonging to the other three tribes had accepted Judaism and were prone to cause trouble in the city. Long before the birth of Islām the Jewish colonists had established themselves at Madīnah and had succeeded in converting many Madīnites to Judaism. But in course of the 6th century A. C. they lost hold over the city and their property was purchased by two heathen tribes, the Khazraj and the Aws, who by the time the Muslims came into Madīnah formed the majority of the population.

The Banū Qurayzah and Banū Naḍīr joined the Aws while the Banū Qaynuqa' sided with the Khazraj in the tribal feuds.¹ In 616 A. C., the Aws inflicted a severe defeat on the Khazraj in a battle, the Day of Bu'ath. With the coming of the Muhājirs, the majority of the Aws and the Khazraj, exhausted as they were by tribal feuds and dissensions in their quest for peace, embraced Islam and the tribal wars ended. But the Jews never liked the unity and amity of the Anṣārs and the Muhājirs and the Muslims were still a

1. Ibn Ishāq, 372/253 tr.

minority at Madīnah and unless there was internal peace and security from external aggression, particularly of the Makkans, the Muslims and Jews could not live a peaceful life in the city. Therefore Muḥammad approached the Jews of Madīnah with open arms, recognizing their religion and calling the Jews and the Anṣārs together dictated a constitution which came to be known as the Charter of Madīnah. Ibn Ishāq says, "This is a document from Muḥammad the Prophet (governing the relations) between the believers and Muslims of Quraysh and Yathrib, and those who followed them and joined them and laboured with them."¹ The exact date of the introduction of the Charter is not known. It was most probably issued within the six months of Prophet's arrival at Madīnah.

Thus the various Jewish clans were blended together with the Muslims under the leadership of Muḥammad into a community (*Ummah*). The feuding code was abolished and the murderer was subjected to blood vengeance and deprived of any assistance from any quarter. The Jews and the Muslims were to resist external attacks as one community. In case of war, if the city was not attacked, the Jews were obliged to contribute towards war funds though not compelled to participate actively in the war.

The guarantee of peace and protection of life, property, sanctity of women and liberty were all incorporated in the *Charter* and Madīnah was assured of peace and prosperity as long as the citizens remained loyal to its terms. Thus the Prophet succeeded in creating an *Ummah* of the Jews and Muslims of Madīnah. There were forty-seven terms

1. The text of the document is preserved by Ibn Ishāq (pp. 341-4) 231-33 tr.; Ibn Hiṣhām, I, 278-79; Cf. Shiblī, I, 296; Watt, *Muhammad at Madina*, pp. 221-225.

in the *Charter* based on the joint responsibility of the Muslims and the Jews, the main being :—

1. The Muslims and Jews should live in unity as one people and defend Madīnah in the event of attack from outside;

2. The Jews were assured of uninterrupted adherence to their own faith;

3. In the case of attack by a third party, each of the two parties should come to the assistance of the other, but if one of these parties embarked on an aggressive action, the other was not bound to proffer such aid;

4. If one party would enter into a treaty with an enemy, it will be binding on the other with the exception of religious war;

5. Neither was to conclude an agreement with the Quraysh of Makkah nor with any ally of the Makkans;

6. The ancient practice of blood-wits was retained; and

7. In the case of dispute among the people the Muhājirs, Anṣārs and the Jews mentioned in this document, it should be referred to “God and to Muḥammad, the Messenger of God”¹

The referring of disputes to Muḥammad by the Muslims and the Jews was to the recognition of his right to administer justice among the contending Madinites according to the Divine Law.

As soon as Islām, by the establishment of public security at Madīnah, was transformed into the religion of a political society, need of positive enactments was felt. Hence the Madinite surahs, covering about one-third of the Qur’ān, are more elaborate dealing broadly with religious, civil and

1. Watt, p. 224 term No. 42; Ibn Ishāq, 343/233.

criminal, fiscal and military laws and regulations, including the Five Pillars (basic principles) of Islam, and governing social practices such as slavery and polygamy, the giving of alms and such other matters. Commenting on this Ibn Ishāq says, "Prayer was instituted, the alms tax and fasting were prescribed, legal punishment fixed, the forbidden and the permitted prescribed, and Islām took up its abode with them."¹

However, as the Jews began gradually to understand the teachings and practices of Islām and their significance, they became alarmed for the preservation of their own faith and power and began to dishonour their commitments. They had expected Muḥammad to have descended from the lines of the Prophets but when his preachings did not meet their traditional religious concepts, they wanted to go back from the terms of the *Charter*. Their rabbis harassed him with their disputations and their poets composed bitterly caustic and abusive verses aimed at him.

The Khazraj Chief, ‘Abd Allāh b. Ubayy, was a great and influential man in Madīnah. The unbelievers amongst his followers and the Aws planned to proclaim him as their King. ‘Abd Allāh had received an epistle from the Quraysh directing his tribe to fight Muḥammad and his followers and expel them or failing this to face the consequences, an attack by the Quraysh on Madīnah.² During the holding of an assembly summoned by ‘Abd Allāh for the purpose of declaring himself King, the Prophet boldly walked into the meeting-place and addressed the gathering saying that the Quraysh wanted to weaken the Madinites by creating schisms and dissensions between them, prior to occupying

1. A. Guillaume, *The life of Muhammad*, p. 346/235 tr.

2. *Sunan Abū Dā’ūd*, II, 67 quoted by Shīblī, 305.

the city of Madīnah. He further said that if they desired safety, they should fight unitedly against the Makkans in the same ways as the Muslims had agreed with the Jews. His speech impressed the assembly greatly and ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ubayy’s carefully laid down plans for attaining kingship failed.

Disappointed in ‘Abd Allāh b. Ubayy, the Makkans began to incite the tribes and clans of the territory lying between Makkah and Madīnah. Being custodians of the Ka‘bah, the Quraysh commanded respect all over Arabia and were in a position to exert influence on the tribes living between Madīnah and Makkah which made the Muslims stand on their guard both against internal and external enemies. Muḥammad ‘Alī rightly observes, “The Muslims, therefore, felt great concern for their safety. Attack was apprehended every moment from without and treachery from within.”¹

About this time Muḥammad received a deputation of sixty Christians from Najrān. They had come to Madīnah with the positive plan of increasing enmity between the Jews and the Muslims. They were hospitably received and allowed to pray as they liked. A religious discourse was also organised between the followers of various religions during their stay in Madīnah. Abū ‘Ubaydah b. al-Jarrāḥ was sent along with them to Najrān to preach Islam.²

Circumstances leading to the Battle of Badr :— On reaching Madīnah, Muḥammad had organised the Muslims, Muhājirs and Anṣārs, into a community, and formed also a joint organisation of the Muslims and Jews for whose safety and security, he had accepted responsibility. Muḥammad ‘Alī says,

1. *Muḥammad the Prophet*, p. 109

2. Ibn Ishāq, 401-411/270-277 tr.

“The duty of the preservation of the small Muslim brotherhood devolved upon the Prophet and like a skilled general, he realized the importance of keeping a watch on the movements of the enemy.”¹ The Prophet apprehended danger from the Makkan Quraysh who having the ‘Arab tribes settled between Makkah and Madīnah under their influence started sending small detachments on marauding expeditions to scour the land as far as Madīnah. Therefore as a true general he became cautious and began planning to stop the Syrian trade of the Makkans in order to paralyse their economic stability² and to send reconnoitering parties to keep an eye on the movement of the enemies and to confound their plans. At the same time he also planned to approach some tribes to secure their neutrality and, if possible, even to win their friendship. These were all defensive measures that the Prophet adopted. The Muslims were ordered to maintain discipline, to abstain from provocation and to avoid giving offense

The first expedition consisting of thirty Muhājirs under the leadership of Ḥamzah was sent towards the coastline of the Red Sea, which was the main route of the Makkans to Syria. Ḥamzah came upon a caravan guarded by 300 horsemen under Abū Jahl near al-‘Is on the Red Sea and returned without intercepting it. A second party of sixty Muhājirs sent under ‘Ubaydah b. Ḥārith towards Rabigh met another Makkan caravan of 200 riders under Abū Sufyān. A third party of twenty riders under Sa’d b.

1. *Muhammad the Prophet*, 111.

2. Sa’d b. Ma’adh the chief of Aws went to perform ‘Umrah and stayed with Ummiyah. One day when he went to circumlocute, Abū Jahl threatened him that had he not been with Ummiyah, he would have turned him out. Thereupon Sa’d said if they were not allowed to perform hajj their going to Madīnah en route to Syria would be stopped cf. Bābu’l Maghāzī in *Bukhārī* quoted by Shibli, I, 307, 309.

Abī Waqqās was sent towards the south and it returned without fighting¹ Thus the first year after migration passed safely and the enemies' plan was confounded by sending repeated expeditions which was done as a precautionary measure by the Prophet, and not with a view to waylay the Makkan caravans as it has been presumed and interpreted by certain European writers. These expeditions were to guard the city of Madīnah as a precautionary measure against the apprehended Makkan attack and create obstruction in their commercial expedition to Syria. No fight took place and no plunder but the Jahīnah tribe living at a distance of three stages from Madīnah was now won over to neutrality and the Muzaynah tribe entered into defensive pact with the Muslims.²

Similarly, in the second year of the Hijrah, reconnoitering parties were sent out several times in various directions to guard Madīnah, to cement friendship with the tribes living outside Madīnah and to gather information about the movement of the Makkans. With a party under Sa'd b. 'Ubādah, Muḥammad himself went towards Ghazwah al-Abwā' or Waddān and returned after making an alliance with Makhshī b. 'Umar the Banū Damrah Chief. A month later, Muḥammad went towards Buwat at the head of 200 Muhājirs and Anṣārs, and found a Makkan caravan under Umayyah b. Kḥalaf bypassing the Madi-nites. About three months after (October 623) a party under Abū Salmah b. Abu'l 'As'ad marched towards Yanbū' and found Abū Sufyān leading a caravan but returned after making alliances with Banū Ḥamzah, Banū Mudlij and the tribes of Buwat.

1. Ibn Ishāq, 419/283 tr.

2. Zarqānī, I, 477

The Muslims did not kill a single Makkan in all these expeditions but within a month after Yanbū' expedition, Kurz b. Jābir with a party of the Quraysh raided the suburbs of Madīnah and took away camels. This clearly indicates the aggressive attitude of the Makkans who were on the look-out for such an opportunity and had threatened 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy either to expel Muḥammad and his companions from Madīnah or to face the Makkan attack. As a precautionary measure, the Holy Prophet had been sending expeditions as there was always apprehension of Makkan attacks. Prophet Muḥammad pursued Kurz but he escaped via Badr. Thereupon 'Abd Allāh b. Hajash of Banū As'ad was sent with a section of twelve Muhājirūn to Nakhlah situated between Ṭā'if and Makkah. While the Muslims were marching, Sa'd b. Waqqās and 'Utbi b. Ghazwān were left behind and captured by the Quraysh. The Muslims, therefore, attacked the Makkan caravan. 'Amr b. al-Ḥaḍramī the caravan leader was killed by an arrow and two other influential persons 'Uthmān and Nawfal the grandsons of Mughīrah were taken prisoners. Exchange of prisoners took place and one Makkan prisoner was sent back to Makkah on the release of Sa'd b. Waqqās and 'Utbi b. Ghazwān, while the other Makkan prisoner Hakam b. Kaysan accepted Islām.¹ As this expedition was led in the sacred month of Rajab and without the prior sanction of the Prophet, it was condemned by the Muslims. Muḥammad himself was not happy about it.² Then a Divine revelation justified the action of the Muslims on the ground that the heathen Makkans did not

1. Ibn Hishām, I, 344, 345; Tabarī, 1275; *Sunan Abi Da'ud*, p. 10; Hafiz Ghulam Sarwar, *Muhammad the Holy Prophet*, p. 189.

2. *Shubhī*, I, 313.

believe in one God and persecuted the believers of Allāh, which were even more serious and objectionable actions than warfare in the holy month.¹

The death of Amrū b. al-Ḥaḍramī, the son of ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥaḍramī created sensation in Makkah and this became the immediate cause of the battle of Badr.

The time was deep ripe for a general engagement between the Muslims and the Makkans. The Muslims had by then established themselves in Madīnah and their number and strength had increased by new converts e. g. the chiefs of the Banū Khazraj and Banū Aws and Salmān the Persian, but yet the position of the Muslims was hardly secure and stable. The Jews were intriguing against them, the Makkans had declared war on the Madinites, particularly the Muslims, and the Quraysh tribesmen were preparing accordingly.² The Makkans contributed to their might towards the war funds raised for the purchase of arms and provisions in Syria and accordingly a Makkan caravan had gone to Syria under Abū Sufyān in Rabi‘ al-Ākhir 2H. (October 623). The Muslims therefore were apprehending danger of being attacked by the Makkans on the return of the caravan from Syria³ and intriguing of the Jews with the Makkans against the Muslims.

Circumstances, therefore, compelled the Prophet to embark on defensive preparations and to prevent the safe return of the trade caravan under Abū Sufyān to Makkah.⁴ This was a good opportunity for the Muslims for organizing a strategic manoeuvre to intercept the caravan which carried goods worth 50,000 dīnārs and included

1. Surah 2. 214; Ibn Ishāq, 425/288 tr. ; Hafiz Ghulam Sarwar, p. 189.

2. Tabarī, 1284 quoted by Shibli, I, 314.

3. Ibn Sa‘d, p. 7 quoted by Shibli, I, 315.

4. Shibli, I, 315-17.

representatives of all the trading families of Makkah. Muḥammad the Prophet justly took stock of the situation and perceived that in case the Makkans chose to resist, they would have to split up their force into two columns, one to fight and the other to guard the caravan, or alternatively, they could make peace with the Muslims which prospect the Holy Prophet welcomed. He therefore planned to confound the Quraysh and sent a patrol led by Ṭalḥah b. ‘Ubayd Allāh and Sa‘īd b Zayd to ascertain the position of Abū Sufyān. When the Makkan caravan reached al-Haura, a hundred miles north-east of Madīnah on the sea-coast, they reported the matter to Prophet Muḥammad.

Abū Sufyān apprehending the danger sent Damdam b. ‘Amr of the Banū Ghifār to Makkah for help. Damdam cut off the nose of his camel and tore off his own shirt and cried for Makkan help.¹ This added fuel to the fire and the Makkans who were already irritated at the incident of Ibn Ḥadramī clamoured for vengeance. Thus came the long-awaited opportunity for the Quraysh to crush the growing power of Islām. But actually even had not this pretext arisen they were resolved to crush the Muslims once for all.

Battle of Badr :- Badr, the ‘Arab desert market place where there used to be held an annual fair, is situated at a distance of twenty miles south-west of Madīnah and a few miles from the Red Sea. It was here that the Muslims had to fight the first battle against their enemies, the Quraysh. On receiving intelligence of the interception made by the Muslims, the Quraysh rushed in great disorder to save the caravan of Abū Sufyān and to crush the Muslims. The Makkan caravan consisted of 300 camel loads of merchandise escort-

1. Ibn Ishāq, 430/291 tr.; Cf. Hafiz Ghulam Sarwar, pp. 197-8.

This event is refuted by Muhammad Ali, pp. 112-3.

ted 700 horsemen and the Makkan reinforcement arrived under 'Utbāh b. Rabi'ah of 1,000 footmen and one hundred riders. The Prophet on receiving reports of the Makkans' march started with 323 men, two horses and seventy camels and reached Badr. Of the Prophet's troops only sixty were Muhājirs while the rest were from the Anṣārs.

Abū Sufyān led his caravan consisting of forty men¹ along the coast and reached Makkah safely by a detour and outdistanced the Madinites without being noticed by the Muslims. Learning this, a few of the Zuhrah and 'Ali clans (about one hundred) who had been sent to their rescue also returned to Makkah. However the majority of them about 200 including 100 horsemen proud of their superiority in number and equipment advanced to crush the Muslims. In his overwhelming confidence Abū Jahl sought to make history by extirpating at one blow the new faith on the field of Badr. The Madinites reached Badr on the 17th Ramaḍān 2H/14th March 624 and the Quraysh a little earlier.² The very act of Prophet's coming out of Madīnah was interpreted as a threat to the Makkan caravan and a challenge to the Makkans. But God Himself promises to the Holy Prophet in the Qur'an that either Abū Sufyān's caravan or Abū Jahl's ('Utbah's) army was for him.³ This promise had been made to him when the Prophet was in Madīnah and the Makkan caravan was on its way back to Makkah and the Qurayshite army

1. Ishāq, 427/289 tr.

2. Shīblī, I, 317-18; Ibn Hishām, I, 360; Wāqidī, 37-90; M. Hamid Allah, *the Battle fields of Prophet Muhammad*, Waking, 1953 11-7.

3. God promises to you that either the caravan of the Quraysh or the Quraysh army is for you. Cf. Surah Anfāl, Qur'an quoted by Shīblī, I, 336, 346.

was out to crush the Muslims.¹ Accordingly Prophet Muhammad raised his army and marched towards Makkah to meet the Quraysh outside the city and not towards Syria or the Red Sea to intercept the caravan as it has been interpreted by many medieval and modern historians.

In this situation at Badr, and apprehending their retreat to be perilous, the Muslims resolved to fight and took possession of a stream and a few wells. The wells were stopped and a cistern was filled to supply drinking water.² On the following morning, instead of attacking the Muslims in mass, the Makkans challenged Muslim warriors to individual combat in which Abū Bakr unshielded his sword against his son 'Abdul Raḥmān and Hudhayfah stood against his father 'Utbah and the champions of Islam like 'Ubaydah b. Harith, 'Alī and Zayd showed their mettle and gave laudable accounts of themselves by killing 'Utbah b. Rabi'ah, Shaybah b. Rabi'ah and Walīd b. 'Utbah. Single combats followed by group fighting continued from the morning to noon on Friday, the 17th day of Ramaḍān.³ Subsequently began a general engagement between the Makkans on horseback and camels and the Muslims on foot.

The Muslim soldiers were instructed to single out the chiefs among the enemy posts and attack them. In this way Abū Jahl was killed by a Madinite, Mu'ādh. Bilāl killed his own old master and persecutor, Ummiyah b. Khalaf, and also his son.⁴ The Makkans ultimately despaired of success after the fall of Abū Jahl and 'Utbah retired, leaving behind seventy persons dead and another

1. Shibli, 346-47.

2. Ibn Hishām, II, 16; Ibn Ishāq, 439/297 tr.

3. Ibn Ishāq, 443/299-300.

4. Bukhārī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, see Badr

seventy prisoners, most of whom were eminent Quraysh nobles, in Muslim hands while the casualty on the side of the Muslims totalled to only fourteen including six Muhājirs. Although Abū Sufyān was safe in Makkah with the caravan but yet the catastrophe at Badr was grievous due to the loss of trained men of the Makkans. The Makkans fought for prestige but they were disgraced in defeat, while the Muslims who, outnumbered and ill-equipped, sacrificed themselves for their faith were exalted with victory. "And you must know that one-fifth of the booty obtained is meant for God, His Prophet, his relatives, orphans, the poor and the way-farers."¹ The booty of war was distributed equally among all the Muslims.² The prisoners were treated very gently and were given daily meals while the Muslims themselves lived on dates.³ They were set free on payment of ransom 4,000 dirhams each.⁴ But those who could not pay were also ultimately released. Each literate person taken prisoner, unable to pay ransom, purchased his freedom by teaching ten Madinite Muslim children.⁵ Among these prisoners was also the Prophet's son-in-law Abū'l 'Āṣ, a prominent merchant. He was released without paying any ransom. On his return he sent his wife Zaynab to her father Prophet Muḥammad at Madīnah and himself accepted Islām a few years later.⁶

From the military point of view this battle was not very significant but the results were obviously very favourable for the Muslims and the moral effect on neighbour-

1. Cf. Sūrah Anfāl quoted by Shīblī, I, 339—40.

2. Ibn Ishāq, 456/307.

3. Ṭabarī, 1338

4. Shīblī, I, 332.

5. Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, I, 246-247; cf. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 14.

6. Shīblī, 333-34

ing people was very great. This was undoubtedly a great achievement of the believers in Islam, and the Makkans saw what appeared in their eyes to be a miracle performed not only by the Prophet but also by his followers.¹ Muslim historians explain the victory as a result of their supernatural assistance—received by the men of the True Faith. Al-Wāqidī even believes that angels with white turbans on and Gabriel with a yellow one fought in the ranks of the Muslims against the Makkans.² Almost every Makkan family felt the pinch of the defeat. Either they mourned the death of a member of the family or a kinsman or purchased the freedom of another. This victory heightened the power and prestige of the Muslims in the eyes of their enemies viz., the Quraysh and other 'Arab tribes and also the Jews, who grieved at the news of the Muslim victory. A very influential Jew Ka'ab b. Ashraf went to Makkah to console the Makkans and wrote a *marsiyyah* on the victims of the Badr and the reciting it incited the people and the Quraysh.³ About 700 members of the faithless Banū Qaynuqā,' the Jewish tribe of goldsmiths settled in Madīnah who broke the agreement with the Muslim,⁴ insulted Muslim women, defied the Prophet, supported his rival 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy and sought help from the Makkans were expelled to Syria and their properties were confiscated by the Muslims about a month after the battle of Badr.⁵ Several other persons who had gone out of their way to offend the Prophet were punished. A number of the Jews including 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy accepted Islām only to ferret

1. Ibn Hishām, 450.

2. Al-Wāqidī, *Maḡhāzī*, 11-75

3. *Sīrat* Ibn Hishām and Abū Dā'ūd quoted by Shāh Mu'īn al-Dīn, I, 51-52

4. Ibn Ishāq, 545-46/363.

5. Cf. *Property of the Holy Prophet* by S. M. Imamuddin in *The voice of Islam*, Karachi,

out secret information from the Muslims, undermine their faith and spread dissension in their ranks. Some stronger measures were yet to be taken against these unyielding opponents.

Battle of Uhud :—The Makkans were greatly perturbed at the news of their defeat at Badr. In order to prevent a collapse of their morale, Abū Sufyān took control of affairs and tried to assume that the Makkans would not forget the ignominy of Badr. The spirit of revenge kept burning in their minds. Abū Sufyān vowed that he would not take a bath till he had avenged the reverse at Badr, restored confidence and led a party of 200 camel riders to raid Madīnah but retreated after laying waste some fields and houses in the suburbs and slaying two Muslims.¹ Irritated as the Makkans were, they apprehended that their Syrian trade would be in danger and preparations for an attack on Madīnah were made. Abū Sufyān undertook to bear the cost of the expedition and the profit made by his trade caravan was utilized in purchasing arms and supplies for the coming war. The Quraysh entered into an alliance with the Banū Thaqīf of Ṭā'īf and the Banū Bakr and other tribes living near Makkah and instigated the Jews of Madīnah against their allies, the Muslims.

The Prophet was not unaware of this. He made covenants with all the tribes living on the Red Sea coast in order to cut the trade route of the Quraysh to Syria. The Quraysh courted the friendship of the Iraqis and inaugurated trade relations with them. A trade caravan started under Ṣafwān b. Ummiyah for Irāq. The caravan passed through the desert of the Najd but to Ṣafwān's utter

1. Ibn Sa'd, II, 40

surprise and dismay, Zayd b. Ḥārith with a hundred men intercepted it. The caravan fled leaving booty worth 100,000 dirhams, the richest so far, in the hands of the Muslims. This terrified the Makkans all the more and led them to raise a large force to fight the Muslims.

A force of about 3,000 Makkans including 700 armed men, 200 horses and 300 camels and a great baggage train with women under the command of Abū Sufyān marched from Makkah and encamped in the valley of Mount Uhud, three miles north of Madīnah, on the 15th Shawwāl, 3H/ 21st March, 625.¹ The Makkan women, under the command of Hindah, daughter of ‘Utbah and the wife of Abū Sufyān, also accompanied the Makkan soldiers to encourage and hearten their spirit by singing war songs.² The Madinites became divided in their opinions—a party under the Khazrāj chieftain ‘Abd Allān b. Ubayy, who had accepted Islām hypocritically after the battle of Badr, wanted to remain on the defensive while the Prophet supported by the young warriors resolved to give fight to the Makkans outside the city of Madīnah. Many resolved to search paradise through martyrdom and preferred to be on the

1. Ibn Hishām, 555-638; Wāqidī, 101-148; Shūblī (*Umar the Great*, p. 57) gives Saturday the 7th Shawwāl as the date for the commencement of the battle.

2. Hindah daughter of ‘Utbah encouraged the Makkan warriors in the battle of Uhud saying :

“If you advance we hug you,
Spread soft rugs beneath you ;
If you retreat we leave you,
Leave and no more love you.”

Almost the same encouraging words were used by a woman of Banū Ijl at the battle of *Dhu* Qar. Cf. *Naqā'id* 641 quoted in *Sirat Rasūl Allāh* of Ibn Isḥāq, 562/374 tr. Cf. 581/385.

offensive at the risk of death to rather than be on the defensive and subjected to protracted sieges, harassments and provocations and leaving their fields and plantations to be destroyed by the enemies. The majority of the Muslims were prepared to give battle in the open field. Prophet Muḥammad, therefore, marched at the head of a body of 1,000 men including two horsemen and one hundred mail-clad soldiers.

Before he had proceeded for, ‘Abd Allāh b. Ubayy with three hundred Kḥazrāj followers retreated on the pretext that his advice had not been accepted by Muḥammad. When the morning came the Prophet found only 700 Muslim followers ready to fight against 3,000 Quraysh who had taken their position in the valley between Madīnah and the Mount of Uḥud.

With a view to assail the Makkans in the rear the Prophet took up a strong position on the slopes keeping the hill at the back and protected his left flank by posting fifty archers under ‘Abd Allāh b. Jubayr in the rear to guard the hilly pass with instruction not to leave it even after the battle was over.¹ After a few skirmishes a general engagement took place. From his advantageous position Muḥammad could easily charge the enemies and drive them back with great loss. The Quraysh were exhausted and fled and as bad luck would have it, the Muslims, on seeing that victory was certain, broke their ranks and greedily fell upon the booty. The fifty archers also joined them in collecting the spoils. The mountain pass thus being left unguarded Khālīd b. Walīd at the head of some Makkans outflanked the Muslims and attacked

1. Ibn Ishāq, 560/373; Shiblī, I, 373.

the Muslims engaged in gathering booty.¹ As a result confusion was created in the Muslim ranks and some of them fled towards Madīnah while others took courage, assembled and fought their way back to the hill of Uḥud to save the life of the Holy Prophet who stuck to his own position and cried at the top of his voice to reassemble the Muslims. It is narrated that only seven to eleven Anṣārs and two Muhājirs, Ṭalḥāh and Sa'd, stood by the Prophet. He became the main target of enemy's attacks and about thirty Muslims although overtaken by the Makkans from all sides, in their retreat to the hill, defied all the repeated assaults of the enemy. The Prophet was wounded² and remained hidden for a while in a ravine. Rumour arose that he was killed. But actually Muṣ'ab b. 'Umayr who fought in the defence of the Prophet had been killed by Ibn Qamiyah al-Laythī who thought that he killed the Prophet.³

The Quraysh, being exposed as they were to Muslim arrows and stones from the hills, could not stand against the reckless courage of the Muslims and apprehending a fresh attack by the Banū Aws and Khazraj who had retired to Madīnah retreated to Makkah. Seventy Muslims fell in the battle. Among them was the Muslim champion, Ḥamzah, the Prophet's⁴ uncle who had been killed by Waḥshī, the slave of Jubayr b. Muṭ'im, with his javelin in bid for securing freedom and his dead body was pounced upon by the blood thirsty Hindah, Abū Sufyān's wife, who tore his liver out with her teeth.

1. Bukhārī II, 579

2. Muslim, see Ghazwah Uḥad, I, p. 90; Bukhārī, II, 581, 584

3. Ibn Ishāq, 566/377, 574/381

4. *Ibid.*, 564-5/375-6; Bukhārī, I, 385

The Muslim women like ‘Ā’ishah, Umm Salīm and Umm ‘Ammārah also performed glorious deeds in this battlefield. They supplied water to the wounded soldiers and washed and dressed their wounds.¹ The Muslims sustained grievous loss but the Makkans also lost seventeen of their chiefs. Fortunately the Makkans were so exhausted that they could neither pursue the vanquished Muslims nor overran the undefended city of Madīnah. Their campaign proved fruitless and they returned to Makkah. This was a day of trial, calamity, and heart-searching. The Muslims suffered due to their own fault and this defeat served as an object lesson to them and saved them from discomfiture, in scores of occasions in battles fought in future. It is a tribute to the resolution and resilience engendered by Islām that they were neither crushed permanently nor was their prestige diminished. The Makkans could not claim a decisive victory as they had neither taken any Muslim prisoner nor acquired spoils of victory. After all the Muslims had suffered losses at the hands of a force superior in number and arms. After the departure of the Makkans the Muslims also returned to Madīnah but on the following Sunday morning, the 16th Sh‘abān, went in pursuit of the Makkans up to Ḥamra’ al-Asad. After passing three nights (Monday to Wednesday)² there and lighting the fire of victory they returned with renewed courage and prestige.³

1. Bukhārī, II, 582; *Sīrat ibn Hishām*, I, 460

2. Ibn Ishāq, 589/390.

3. When the polytheists withdrew from Uḥud, Hindah commented
 “I came back my heart filled with sorrow
 For some from whom I sought vengeance had escaped me,
 Men of Quraysh who were at Badr,
 Of Banū Hāshim, and of Yathrib’s people,

Growing Strength of Muslims:— The battle of Uḥud did not prove a great disaster for the Muslims. At the news of this battle, the Makkans were overjoyed and the Jews who were supposed to have fought with Prophet Muḥammad in terms of the Treaty exalted over the losses of the Muslims and conspired with the Quraysh to injure them. The Banū Qaynuqā' had already been expelled after the battle of Badr because of their anti-Islamic feelings and propaganda. Amrū b. Ummiyah killed two men of the Banū 'Āmir. In stead of paying blood-wit, the Banū Naḍīr plotted against the life of the Holy Prophet, so some of them were expelled in 4H (625 A.C) to Khaybar¹ inhabited chiefly by Jews 20 miles north of Madīnah and others to Syria. They were however allowed to carry all their belongings except armour.² The Muhājirs were settled in their rich lands planted with palm trees. Among the receivers of these lands in sief were Abū Bakr, 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Awf, Abū Dujanah and others.³

The expulsion of Banū Naḍīr became dangerous for Islām because they became the instrument for instigating the Banū Qurayzah who had been so long friendly to the Muslims during the next battle of Aḥzāb thus creating a critical situation for the Muslims.

I gained somewhat from the expedition.

But not all that I had hoped."

Cf. Ibn Ishāq, 637-8/425-6; Ibn Ishāq, 653/434

1. Zarqīnī, III, 93; Faṭḥ al-Bārī, III, 255; Tabarī, p. 1452
2. Ibn Ishāq, 653/437 ; cf *Property of the Holy Prophet* by S. M. Imam-uddin in *The voice of Islam*, Karachi, 1964, 592-3
3. Balādhurī, I, 34-5 tr.; Y'aqūbī, II, 50. After the conquest of Khaybar, the refugees handed over their shares in the Jewish property at Madīnah to the Anṣars cf. Bāb al-Jihād in *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*; Shiblī, I, 287.

The malice of several 'Arab tribes manifested in the preparations they made to fall upon the Muslims. The Makkans had returned to prepare for another battle and the Muslims made every possible effort to face all danger of severe war.

A group of influential Madinites had accepted Islām but were not prepared to accept the domination of the Muhājirūn. Their hypocrite attitude and nationalistic tendency were overcome by the kind behaviour of the Holy Prophet.

The mission of the Prophet was to establish and conciliate the moral and spiritual cultures of the people for which purpose specially a trained group of people had been lodged in the mosque of Madīnah. They had now to be protected. Muḥammad's position had been raised from that of a refugee to that of a builder and administrator of a State. As the head of the Islamic community, the Prophet was responsible for their weal and woe. The hypocrites, Jews and idolators were all out to annihilate Islām. Due to the conspiracies of the Jews within and the open hostilities of the 'Arab tribes without the city, the life and honour of the Muslims had become insecure. Movement without arms became hazardous for them and every precaution was taken to safeguard themselves from attacks threatening them on all sides. The Prophet made up the losses of Uḥud by spreading his influence in Najd east of Madīnah and cutting off Makkans' trade route to 'Irāq. This situation has been seized upon by hostile critics of Islām as indicating the spread of Islām at the point of the sword. However conversion to Islām was never secured by force. The faith was spread through the efforts of preachers

(the *ahl ṣuffah*) sent to different tribes. Sometimes the tribes acted treacherously by inviting and slaying them as happened at Bīr Ma‘ūnah (Najd) in the month of Ṣafar 4H. when sixty-nine preachers were put to the sword in this manner.¹ Similarly ten preachers sent to the tribes of Raji’ met the same fate.² Forty preachers were killed in the territory of the Hawāzin tribe. The Jews who had settled in the north of Madīnah began to intercept the trade caravans bound for Madīnah at Dumat al-Jandal a great trade centre.

The Prophet took every precaution not to afford opportunities to the hypocrites, Jews and idolators to gather strength and combinedly assail the Muslims. At short notice the Muslims were ready to face the enemies as they did at Dumat al-Jandal, Muraisi’ and Dhāt al-Riqā’ in 5H and against Banū Liḥyān and the Dhū Qarad a year later. In spite of his taking these precautions, the enemies succeeded in their plan of attacking Madīnah with a still greater force as will be evident from the Battle of al-Khandaq which ensued.

Battle of Khandaq (Trench) :- The Makkans prepared themselves fully to attack the Muslims. Due to famine Abū Sufyān did not go to Badr in 4H. as promised to meet the Muslims³ but reserved his energies and supplies for the following year’s campaign. The Quraysh were joined by the Banū Naḍīr of Khaybar who negotiated with the Jews all over Arabia and declared that they were prepared to be pagans but not to accept Islām, or to accept Muslim suzerainty. As they were losing their social, religious and financial influences, the Bedouin tribes living

1. Ibn Ishāq, 648-50/434-6 tr.; Zarqāni, II, 88-9

2. Bukhārī and Tabaqāt ibn S‘ad—see Ghazwah Raji’

3. Ibn Ishāq, 666/447.

in the vicinity of Makkah also responded to their call and in 627 A. C. the Quraysh entered into alliance with the Bedouin tribes - the Fazarah, the Ghaṭfān, the Sulaym, the Asad and others - against Prophet Muḥammad. The Makkans and the Jews subscribed handsomely to the war fund. Thus an anti-Islamic alliance was forged by the Makkans and the Jews and an army of about 10,000 mercenary troops,¹ the majority being Abyssinians, marched in Shawwāl 5 A. H. (627 A. C.) to attack Madīnah. The Jews of Madīnah whose loyalty was suspected² also joined the assailants at the last moment.

Meanwhile the news of the impending attack reached the Prophet through the Banū Khuz'ah living in the neighbourhood of Makkah. As the intelligence of the confederates' march reached him, the Prophet took counsel of his companions as how to repel the collected forces from all over Arabia. To meet such a vast force in the open field was out of the question. Madīnah was naturally fortified by rugged rocks on one side and the other two sides by the continuous rows of stone-built houses only its north side remaining open for attack from outside the city.³ Salmān the Persian,⁴ who had become a Muslim, advised the Prophet to fortify the city by digging trenches. Accordingly all started digging a trench on the open northern side of the city and completed it within six days, the Holy Prophet himself joining in excavating

1. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II, 47; Shiblī, I, 420; Ghulam Sarwar, 269; Muhammad Ali (p. 138)—ten to twenty-four thousand.

2. Cf. *Aṣabah*—under Talḥah b. Barā'.

3. In the caliphate of 'Uthmān a dam was constructed in order to protect the city from the Mahzur torrent (Balādhurī, 25 tr.)

4. Ibn Ishāq, 673/452 tr; Cf. Joseph Horowitz in *Der Islam*, XII, 1922, 178-83.

the hard and rocky soil. The Muslims encamped behind the trench, and ten archers were posted in it at equidistant points. Abū Sufyān at the head of 14,090 confederates arrived on 8th Dhīqʿad, 5H (31st March, 627) before the digging of the trench was completed. His horsemen and camel riders were bewildered at the sight of the trench, a piece of human ingenuity and a new means of defence hitherto unknown in Arabia.¹ Small numbers of horsemen made several attempts to cross the trench but were repulsed by showers of arrows from the Muslim archers. While attempting to cross the trench ʿAmr b. ʿAbdu Wudd was killed by ʿAli.²

The enemy besieged Madīnah with their full force while the Muslims, appreciably lesser in number and comparatively ill-armed, were hard to put to fight simultaneously on two fronts. The hypocrites were active under ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy and the Banū Qurayzah led by Kʿab b. Asʿad were secretly in league with the Quraysh now raised their heads. Abū Sufyān pressed hard from outside the city. The confederates had come prepared but for one day's battle hoping for an easy victory and lots of plunder. Already dispirited and depressed they were yet persuaded by Ḥuwayy b. Akḥṭab the leader of the Banū Naḍīr who had been in league with them originally to pitch their tents before Madīnah. Two weeks passed in this manner in Dhīqʿad 5 H (March-April 627).

1. Ibn Ishāq, 677/454; Ibn Hishām, 668-713; Wāqidī, 190-210. Shibli, I, 420-21. It was about this time that the drinking of intoxicating liquor was forbidden for the maintenance of the rigid military discipline.

2. Ibn Ishāq, 677-8/454

The allies intrigued with Banū Qurayzah who promised to attack the Muslims from the rear while the Muslims tried to detach the Bedouins from their alliance with the Quraysh and Nu'aym b. Mas'ūd created a rupture between the Jewish and Qurayshite allies. They ultimately decided to capture the city by assault and the hypocrites now found an opportunity to leave Muḥammad and retire to their homes. On the 28th day of the siege, in the morning, the allies tried to storm the city. All attempts to take the city by general assault, however, proved futile so that the allies were forced to try to capture it by intrigue but even in this Prophet Muḥammad confounded their plans.¹ Meanwhile misunderstandings grew among the allies—the Ghāṭfān and Abū Sufyān, and the Banū Qurayzah and Abū Sufyān²—and the day was followed by a night of terror.

A sand-storm destroyed their tents and scanty supplies, scattered their pack and riding animals and gave the *coup de grace* to their morale, the Makkans, therefore, did not wait for the morning and dispersed in confusion, leaving Khālīd and 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ with two hundred men in the rear. Thus all the attempt of overwhelming odds to crush the Muslims were frustrated and the power of the allies was broken for ever. The enemies could never again assemble in such a large number against the Prophet. The break-up of the confederacy marked the complete failure of the Makkans and laid the foundation of the Muslim State in Madīnah which was shortly to expand all over Arabia and the neighbouring countries.

1. Ibn Ishāq, 681-2/458-9; Ghulam Sarwar, 276.

2. Ibn Sa'd, IV, 20-21

The casualties in the siege of Madīnah were six Muslims and three Makkans. This battle is also known as that of *al-Aḥzāb* (confederates).

As the Banū Qurayzah had helped the confederates and had planned to attack the Muslim women housed in one quarter during the war of *Aḥzāb*,¹ their fastnesses were besieged for twenty-five nights and forced to surrender.² They chose their former ally, Sa'd b. Mu'adh, as an arbitrator who gave a verdict for the execution of 400 of their fighting male members, the captivity of their females and children and confiscation of their property which was divided among the Muslims.³ This harsh punishment that was meted out was in accordance with the Mosaic Law. Had it been decided by the Prophet himself they might have received milder punishment as in the case of Banū Qaynuqā and Banū Naḍīr. The Prophet had to take this punitive measure in self-defence against the destructive activities of traitors within the gates.

After the battle of the *Fosse* (Ditch) Muḥammad, the Prophet, was able to establish peace within Madīnah and its neighbourhood. Small expeditions were sent to punish treacherous persons and unruly tribes in the early 6th year of the Hijrah. The Banū Bakr who had taken part in the previous Makkan wars against the Madinites were routed at Fadak.⁴ The establishment of peace made easier the work of the propagation of the Faith.

Throughout these years the Prophet suffered greatly due to the chaos and confusion created by the heathens

1. Ibn Ishāq, 680/458

2. *Ibid.*, 685/461

3. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 373; cf. Ibn Ishāq, 690/464; Tabarī, 1485, 1487, 1492

4. Cf. Hamid Allah, 84-7

and the Jews and for weeks together he had to survive on a handful of dates and milk while he distributed the booty among his followers. He thought of the comfort of his followers more than of his own family members. He was neither idle nor did he allow his followers to be so. By devotion to God and humanity he disciplined himself and his followers. In the gradual consolidation of Islām the number of Muslims increased. At Badr, Muḥammad had been able to gather only 313 followers, at 'Uḥud 700 and at *Aḥzāb* about 3,000 Muslims.¹

Now Prophet Muḥammad had two enemies, the Jews and the Makkans, on two fronts but it was a problem for him to cope with the situation with such a small number of followers at a time. He therefore thought of forming a friendship with one while fighting with the other. After the battle of *Aḥzāb* it was easier for him to create friendship with the Makkans than with the Jews.² Besides this, Muḥammad had brought economic deadlock to the Makkans by entering into defensive pacts with the Banū Damrah, Mudallij and other tribes living in the region between Madīnah and Yanbū' and spreading his influence over Najd and thus closing their trade routes to Syria Egypt and 'Irāq which made them mild and changed their outlook towards Muslims.³

The Truce of Ḥudaybiyah :—The Prophet's long absence from Makkah deepened his belief in the sanctity of Makkah and he began to feel that until the Ka'bah had been cleared of idols the object of his mission was yet not completed. About a year after the battle of *Aḥzāb* the

1. Cf. Hamid Allah, pp. 84-87

2. *Ibid*, 87.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 83-84, 86.

Prophet saw in a vision that he was performing the *hajj* (the pilgrimage) to the Ka'bah. He therefore thought of performing an '*umrah* (minor *hajj*) to the Ka'bah in the month of Dhū al-Qa'd, 6H (April 628) the sacred month when the pilgrimage to the Ka'bah was never denied to anybody—even the worst enemy. Relying on this ancient convention he with about 1400 of his unarmed followers started for Makkah. It revealed that Muḥammad was a peace-loving man and Makkah was the focus of his religion. Such a demonstration was bound to win the heart of the Makkan and other 'Arab tribes and raise the prestige of Islām in the eyes of the 'Arabs.

It now became a problem for the Makkans to allow the once expelled people to approach their own town, although in the month of peace, for this would mean acknowledgement of their own defeat and exaltation of the Muslims in the eyes of the peoples of Arabia. The commoners had, however, been won over by the Prophet by giving five hundred gold coins to the famine-stricken Makkans in relief.¹

Reaching the vicinity of Makkah the unarmed Muslims² found the Quraysh ready to receive them with swords and spears. Budayl b. Waraqā' a chief of the Banū Khuzā'ah, well disposed towards Islām, informed the Muslims about the Makkan preparations.³ It was a good

1. *Rasūl-i-Akram*, p. 86.

2. After going a distance 'Umar advised the Holy Prophet to send persons to Madīnah for bringing arms to meet emergency. The arms were brought but they were never opened (*Tā'rikh-i-Tabarī*, p. 1531)

3. According to Shiblī (*Umar the Great*, I, 66) it was Bishr b. Sufyān who informed Muḥammad about the Makkans' resolution about not allowing the Muslims to enter Makkah.

opportunity for the Muslims to attack the women and children of the Makkans' allies who had been left behind unguarded.¹ But Budayl was sent back with the words that the Muslims had not come to fight but to perform pilgrimage and were prepared to maintain peace with the Quraysh. The Muslims pitched their tents at Hudaybiyah, a day's journey from Makkah. Some young Quraysh were not prepared to listen to Muḥammad's proposal but the wise and experienced persons of the Quraysh made the other Qurayshites agree to the proposals of peace because the Muslims had cut their trade route to Syria and had created friendship with the tribes living on their trade route to 'Irāq. 'Urwah b. Mas'ūd al-Thaqafī came to discuss the terms of peace with the Muslims. In course of the discussions, Abū Bakr heard him saying to the Prophet that he was relying on his followers who were no better than sheep whereupon he became angry with him and treated him harshly. The negotiations failed and 'Urwah returned to report to the Quraysh thus, "I have been to the courts of the Caesar as well as the Chosroes, but have never witnessed a semblance of the devotion Muḥammad commands."²

As the Prophet was still eager to establish peace, he sent a messenger Kḥarāsh b. Ummiyah by name³ to negotiate the terms with the Quraysh who, however, maltreated him and sent an armed detachment against the Muslims which was taken captive and sent back and the Prophet now deputed 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān to negotiate the terms of peace with the Quraysh but he was imprisoned

1. *Hidāyah* Ibn Kaṭhīr, IV, 173 quoted by Hamīd Allāh, 88

2. Muhammad Ali, p. 156; Ibn Ishāq, 745/503; Shibli, I, 452-3.

3. Shibli, I, 452.

and rumour spread that he had been killed.¹ The Prophet was bent upon performing *'umrah* or concluding peace but the moment seemed unpropitious. He could hardly allow such a breach of the inter-tribal code go unpunished. In the shade of an acacia tree,² the Holy Prophet took a fresh pledge called *Bay't al-Riḍwān* (Pledge of God's Pleasure) or *Bay't al-Shajarah* (Pledge of Tree) from his followers to die to a man in the defence of their faith and not to flee in the event of conflict.³ Hearing of this the Makkans were alarmed and became inclined towards negotiating peace. The previous experience of Muslim steadfastness to Islām under the banner of their Prophet and their own losses in battles had convinced the Makkans of their weakness and chastened their spirit. They released 'Uthmān and resumed peace negotiations by sending Suhayl ibn 'Amru to the Muslim camp. After prolonged discussions the two parties arrived at a compromise. A truce was concluded for ten years. The armistice began with : In thy name, O God— This is an agreement between Muhammad son of 'Abd Allāh and Suhayl b. 'Amru the Quraysh.⁴ Thus did the political exile wrest peace from the Makkans on terms consisting of fifty-two⁵ clauses and in the capacity of the head of a State.

Terms :- The terms agreed were, in the main,⁶ as below :

1. The Muslims would return to Madīnah this year without performing the *'umrah* ;

1. Shiblī, I, 453

2. Ibn Ishāq, 745-6/503

3. *Ibid.*, 746/503

4. Balādhurī, 35-6/60-61; Hamid Allah, 90

5. Hamid Allah, 83

6. Ibn Hishām, 747-8; *Tā'rikh-i-Ṭabarī*, 1546-7; *Ṭabaqāt-i-Sa'd*, II, pp. 70-7; Balādhurī, 35-6; Shiblī, I, 455-56; Hamid Allah, 90-91.

2. The following year they might come to Makkah with sheathed swords in their hands like travellers for three days' pilgrimage ;
3. They would not take any Muslim living in Makkah with them to Madīnah but, on the contrary, if any of the Muslims would like to remain behind at Makkah, he would be at liberty to do so;
4. If any Makkan would go over to Madīnah he would be handed over to the Makkans; but the Makkans would not restore a Madinite Muslim if he rejoined them;
5. No minor son of a Makkan would be allowed to join the Muslim community without the prior permission of his parents but the sons of Muslims were free to go over to the Quraysh if they so desire and the Makkans were not obliged to return them;
6. The property and life of every follower of Muḥammad going to Makkah on pilgrimage or trade would be safe and also that of a Makkan merchant passing through Madīnah on his trade journey to Syria or Egypt would be safe; and
7. The 'Arab tribes might join either of the two parties as they liked.

Outwardly these terms looked unfavourable to the Muslims and they were opposed by the companions of the Prophet. 'Umar could not restrain himself from protesting against these humiliating terms as a spokesman of the Muslims on the occasion when Abū Jandal, son of Suhayl, was tortured by the Makkans because of the peace.¹ He was however pacified and the terms were honoured.

Prophet Muḥammad, after shaving his head and sacrificing animals on his way back to Madīnah, received

1. Ibn Ishāq, 748/505 tr.

the Divine revelation : Surely we have given that a clear victory (*Fatḥ al-Mubīn*¹ also called *Naṣr al-‘Azīz*). At such a critical moment to have treaty with the Makkans was certainly a victory for the Holy Prophet. The truce gave the Muslims a standing political status and the Makkans recognised the Muslims a separate religio-political entity. Thus Islām gained great prestige and won over new adherents amongst the Quraysh themselves like Khālīd b. Walīd and ‘Amru b. al-‘Āṣ.

This was the first occasion on which the Quraysh accepted the Muslims as their equals and entered into a peace treaty with them twelve years after they had threatened Abū Ṭālib that if Prophet Muḥammad did not stop preaching Islām he should be prepared to face the consequences. Now the free intercourse of the Makkans with the Muslims convinced them of the truth of Islām and being influenced by the character and morale of the Prophet and his companions they themselves spoke highly of the Prophet to their fellow tribesmen. The continuous war between Makkah and Madīnah had kept the tribes living south of Makkah removed from the influence of Islām. The convention of Ḥudaybiyah now made communications with southern Arabia possible and a delegation from Banū Daws was received at Madīnah.

The truce enabled the Muslims to mix freely with the nomadic tribes and the allies of the Makkans and to propagate their religion and impress them with their virtues without any fear of the Quraysh. This was indeed a clear victory for Islām which Muḥammad, in concluding the peace, had realized fully. The gulf was thus bridged over for a considerable time enabling non-Muslims to ponder

1. Qura’n. ch. 48 *Sūrah Fatḥ*; Ibn Ishāq, 749/505

the qualities of Islām and appreciate the precepts and practices of the Muslims which, as it was natural, during the war had not been able to consider dispassionately. They now, in the free intercourse, observed minutely the morals and manners of the Muslims which made them realize their errors and revise their views regarding the Prophet. Due to enmity and jealousy they had so long accused Muḥammad to be a mischief-monger and impostor. Thus the influence of the character and achievements of the Prophet and his followers led to many 'Arab tribesmen proceeding to Madīnah for embracing Islām. As a result, within a year and a half, the Prophet could muster, 10,000 Muslim warriors to march on Makkah to establish Islām there and shatter the idols of that place into pieces. Thus what was not possible for the Prophet to do in the last eighteen years he could do now in a year and a half. As a result of the truce, Banū Khuzā'ah joined hands with the Muslims and their inveterate enemies, Banū Bakr ibn 'Abd Manāt, joined the Quraysh. Balādhurī says, "When the Prophet made arrangements with Kuraish in the year of al-Hudaibiyah and wrote down the statement of the truce to the effect that he who desires to make covenant with Kuraish can do so ... then those of Kinānah who were present rose and said, 'we will enter into a covenant with Kuraish, and accept their terms,' but Khuz'ah said 'we will enter into the covenant of Muḥammad and his contract.'"¹

Contrary to the expectations of the Makkans no Madinite Muslim went to Makkah to join his family members whereas some Makkans accepted Islām and tried to migrate to Madīnah.² In breach of this term of the treaty 'Uthah b. Usayd (Abū Baṣīr) a new convert to

1. *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, vol. VII, Egypt, p. 340

2. *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān*, 36/60; Cf. *Hishām*, pp. 746-7, 803; *Wāqidī*, *Maghāzī*, 387, 402

Islām wanted to take shelter with the Muslims but when this was denied and he was sent back he fled to al-‘Is in the region of Dhu’l Marwah in the valley of Sha‘ab on the Red Sea coast where he was joined by seventy other new converts.¹ They intercepted the Makkan caravans going to Syria on trade. Thus the term which the Makkans thought most favourable proved fatal to them. They suffered more loss due to this than they did in the battle of Badr and were forced to get this clause (No. 4) as mentioned above cancelled. They approached the Prophet for taking the charge of the highway. These Makkan Muslims including Abū Jandal thus came to Madīnah and the Quraysh carried on trade with Syria. This speaks of sublime generosity and liberality of Prophet Muḥammad which ultimately conquered his enemies and enthroned Islām in their hearts.

The Treaty of Ḥudaybiyah was thus favourable to Prophet Muhammad’s long-term objective. It was certainly a signal of the victory for Islām as it was amply borne out by subsequent events. The number of converts increased rapidly and Muḥammad thought of expanding his area of influence at home and abroad by sending preachers and inviting rulers of neighbouring countries to embrace Islām. In 7H/628-29 A. C the Holy Prophet sent such letters of invitation to different tribes of Arabia to accept Islām. Letters were also despatched through special messengers to sovereigns of Persia and Abyssinia.²

‘Abd Allāh ibn Ḥudhāfah was sent to Chosroes (Kasrah Parwīz) of Persia who seeing the Prophet’s name above his

1. Ibn Ishāq, 752/508 tr.

2. Letters were also sent to the Byzantine ruler and Syrian Chief, Ḥarith Ghassānī and the Chiefs of Yamāmah which have been discussed later.

own in the letter tore it into pieces and ordered the Governor of Yaman to arrest Prophet Muḥammad. However the Persian King was killed subsequently by his own men and the Governor of Yaman accepted Islām and threw off the yoke of Persia.

It is narrated that the Negus of Abyssinia on receipt of the epistle chose Islām as his new faith, and was converted by a Muslim refugee Ja'far by name. It was on his persuasion that 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ during his visit to Abyssinia accepted Islām and finally at Madīnah paid homage to the Prophet. The Egyptian King Muqawqis received the Prophet's messenger Ḥaṭīb b. Abī Balta'ah honourably and sent favourable reply and a present consisting of two respectable girls and a mare.

The ten years' peace of Ḥudaybiyah gave the Holy Prophet ample time to deal with the Jews of Khaybar and the Christian tribes on the Syrian borders who had been deprived of military aid from the Makkans in accordance with the terms of this peace.

Expedition to Khaybar : - The rich Jews of Khaybar particularly the chiefs of the Banū Naḍīr had created trouble at the time of the battle of *Aḥzāb* and had moved the entire Jewish community of Arabia against Islām and allied with the heathen 'Arabs in its destruction. After the battle of *Aḥzāb* though the Muslim authority was established at Madīnah the Jews entered into secret negotiations with the hypocrite Chief 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy against the Muslims. After the truce of Ḥudaybiyah, apparently on humiliating terms, the Jews interpreted it as the weakness of the Musalmans and conspired with the Ghaṭfān tribe to raise an army of over 4,000 Bedouins for an attack on the Muslims. It was on the instigation of the chiefs of Banū Naḍīr namely Salām and Kinānah that the Quraysh

had previously besieged Madīnah. On receiving the intelligence of this move Prophet Muḥammad at the head of 1,600 Muslims including 200 cavalry marched from Madīnah against the Jews in the middle of Muḥarram 7H (May 628 A. C.) the Wadī of al-Raji' and cut off all communications between Kḥaybar and Ghaṭfān and then advanced towards Kḥaybar.¹ The Jews did not surrender but offered a stiff resistance. The fortress of al-Na'im was however taken by assault and the fortress of Qamus strongly manned and fortified fell after twenty days' siege. Finally the two forts al-Waṭīh and al-Sulālim fell after a stiff resistance² and the Jews surrendered agreeing to pay half of the produce annually as tribute. One-fifth of this went to the Prophet and four-fifths to other Muslims numbering about 1540.³ Balādhurī says, "The Prophet used to give annually to each of his wives eighty camel-loads of dates and eighty loads of barley from Khaibar."⁴ 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāha was appointed to assess the land and collect half of the produce. As Kḥaybar had been conquered by force, the Jews were given special permission to continue to cultivate the land in consideration of their experience in agriculture as long as the Muslims willed.⁵

What the Jews could not do during the period of hostility they tried to do on submission. Zaynab, daughter of Ḥarīth, a Jewish chief who had been killed in the battle, invited the Prophet to dinner and mixed poison in

1. Ibn Ishāq, 716-7/484-5.

2. *Ibid.*, 764/516 tr.

3. *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān*, I, p. 45; Cf. Ibn Ishāq, 773-4/521-2,779/525 tr. for further details.

4. *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān*, I, p. 45; cf. Ibn Ishāq, 773-4/521-2,779/525 tr. for further details.

5. Ibn Ishāq, 779/525 tr.

the food offered to him. The Holy Prophet chewed a morsel without swallowing it but his companion Bishr ibn Bara' took the food and died. The conspirators including Zaynab were set free. In order to conciliate the Jews of Khaybar, the Prophet married Safiyah the daughter of Huwayy ibn Akhtab and the widow of Kin'ānah ibn Rabi, the Jewish Prince of the fertile oasis of Khaybar.

Fadak followed the suit of Khaybar without fighting and the Jews agreed to give up half of their land which the Prophet reserved with its income for himself and for the use of wayfarers.¹ The Jews of Wādī al-Qurā, Taymā' and Wādī Khaṣṣ also accepted Muslim suzerainty and agreed to pay the produce as annual tribute.²

'*Umrah* :- Towards the beginning of 620 (Dhū'l-Qa'dah 7H) the Prophet went with 2,000 of his companions to Makkah the city of his birth. They did not carry any arm except the travellers' swords in sheath and entered the city peacefully. While the Muslims were overjoyed, the Makkans cursed themselves for three days lest their women and children were won over by Islām and went to the hills of Qubays and Hira etc. The Prophet's kinsmen, however, remained in the city under the leadership of his uncle 'Abbās. Bilāl climbed the roof of the Ka'bah and called the Muslims to prayer. In this way, they performed the lesser ḥajj and after a stay of three days returned to

1. Balādhurī, pp. 51-54; Cf. Ibn Ishāq, 764/516, 776/523. The Jews of Fadak were expelled by Caliph 'Umar after paying the price of their property in gold, silver and pack animals. Fadak was later appropriated by Mu'awiyah but was put back to its original use by 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz.
2. Wāqidī (Wellhausen), 292; Balādhurī, I, 57-8; Ibn Ishāq, 764/515-16 tr., 775/522 tr. & 780/525 tr. It was about this time that some companions of the Prophet who had migrated to Abyssinia returned to him in Khaybar.

Madīnah safely in Dhu'l Hijjah 7H.¹ This served as a great cause for the propagation of Islām and deeply impressed even the Makkan adversaries many of whom were mentally prepared to accept Islām. Some even accepted Islām soon after the 'Umrah. Umm Maymūnah, the sister-in-law of the Prophet's uncle 'Abbās, was one of these. On the request of 'Abbās, the Prophet took her in marriage. The others were two Quraysh chiefs, Khālīd b. Walīd, the victor of Uhud, and 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ who came to Madīnah and accepted Islām² in Ramaḍān 7H (January 629) and played a significant role later in the territorial expansion of Islām.

Conquest of Makkah :- The terms of the treaty of Ḥudaybiyah were, however, not honoured in *toto* by the Quraysh leading to the outbreak of war between them and the Muslims. In violation of this treaty the Banū Bakr of Kin'ānah with the help of their allies the Quraysh chiefs, 'Ikrimah b. Abū Jahl and others, one night, attacked Banū Khuzā'ah at a watering place called al-Watīr. They were not spared even in the precincts of the Ka'bah and their complaint to the Quraysh met with no redress. A deputation of the Khuzā'ah under their Chiefs 'Amr b. Salīm ibn Ḥasīrah al-Khuzā'ī and Budayl b. Warqa' waited upon the Prophet at the Mosque of Madīnah and solicited his aid against Banū Bakr in accordance with the terms of their alliance with the Muslims. The Prophet sent word to the Quraysh that they should pay blood-wit immediately for those killed from among the Banū Khuzā'ah, desist from helping Banū Bakr or proclaim the dissolution of the treaty of Ḥudaybiyah. The Quraysh accepted the last alternative. But soon Abū Sufyān realized the mistake and reminded his

1. Ibn Ishāq, 788-90/530-31.

2. *Ibid.*, 717/484-5

people of the breach of peace and the consequent danger of Muslims' advance over Makkah.

Since the Peace of Ḥudaybiyah Makkah was a doomed city. Old people with vested interest wanted to carry on as usual but the young generations lost their hopes for their future in Makkah. Besides the dissatisfaction among the Makkans led to serious rivalries for leadership. Abū Sufyān enjoyed the supreme command but 'Ikrimah b. Abū Jahl had risen to prominence from the time of the siege of Madīnah and had become the leader of the rival group. It was the internal weakness of the Makkans which brought Abū Sufyān to his senses.

He hastened to Madīnah for the renewal of the treaty. As the Quraysh did not agree to the other two terms proposed by the Muslims, Prophet Muḥammad refused to grant interview to Abū Sufyān and became determined to settle accounts with them once and for all. The Qurayshite envoy tried to negotiate with the Prophet through his companions, Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Alī but failed and returned disappointed.¹

For twenty-one years the Makkans had tortured and harassed the Muslims and thrice they used strong forces to crush them now the oppressors dug their own graves by dishonouring the terms of peace. The Holy Prophet knew well that without Makkah his position could not be established. He, therefore, made preparations secretly for an attack on Makkah. All the allies and followers in Arabia were summoned.

A certain Ḥaṭīb b. Abī Balta'ah who had fought against the Quraysh at the field of Badr, in order to save his own son and family who were at Makkah, sent a letter regarding the ensuing attack on Makkah through

1. Ibn Ishāq, 806-908/543-4.

a freed woman Sārah or a woman from Muzaynah.¹ But before she could reach Makkah she was overtaken by ‘Alī and Zubayr b. al-‘Awwām and brought back with the letter hidden in her locks. However, in consideration of his past services, Ḥaṭīb was forgiven.²

On the 10th of Ramaḍān 8H (6th January, 630) the Prophet set out for Makkah at the head of 10,000 well-armed followers,³ the same number with which the Makkans and their allies had gone to conquer Madīnah two years back. The Makkans did not know till the arrival of the Muslims at Marr al-Zahrān, a day’s journey from Makkah. ‘Abbās b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib with a number of the Hāshimids came to Prophet Muḥammad. He was accompanied by Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarīth b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib and ‘Abd Allāh b. Abū Umayyah b. Mughīrah.

Prophet Muḥammad was not readily prepared to admit them. ‘Abbās seeing the preparations of his nephew began to feel for the Makkans. He was kind-hearted and peace-loving. As long as the Quraysh were strong, he felt for Muḥammad and now as the tables were turned on the Makkans he began to feel for them. He was a mediator to whom both the parties used to pay heed. Muḥammad wanted a bloodless conquest of Makkah so ‘Abbās rode back to Makkah on *Duldul*, the Prophet’s white mare, and warned them that resistance would be futile as they were surrounded on all sides. “Here is *Khālid* in the lower part of Makkah, there is *Zubayr* in the upper part of it, and there is the Prophet of Allāh at the head of the Emigrants, the Anṣārs and *Khuzā‘ah*.”⁴

1. Ibn Ishāq, 809-10/545 tr.

2. *Ibid.*, 810/545 tr.

3. Cf. Ibn Hishām, pp. 802-40; Wāqidī, pp. 319-51.

4. Balādhurī, I, 38/63 tr.

Abū Sufyān's faith in idols had dwindled long ago but yet he was reluctant to lose his exalted position among the Quraysh. He now accepted Islām and was presented before Muḥammad for pardon. Thus even this arch enemy of Islām was granted an unexpected concession and went unpunished.¹ At the request of 'Abbās, the Prophet declared "He who enters the house of Abū Sufyān shall be safe, he who shuts himself up in his own house and locks his door shall be safe and he who enters the Mosque (Ka'bah) at Makkah shall be safe."²

Abū Sufyān went to his people and said that it was futile to resist the strong force of Muḥammad and informed them about the words of the Prophet guaranteeing safety. In this way the resistance of the Makkans was greatly reduced and the bitter pill of submission was sugared under the shade of curfew. Muslim soldiers marched in from different directions in various columns. However, in spite of the proclamation of peace, Khālīd's entry was opposed at the southern gate in the lower part of the city by 'Ikrimah b. Abū Jahl and his men who had recently attacked the Banū Khuzā'ah. Khālīd forced his entry by killing twenty-three or twenty-four Quraysh and four men from the tribe of Hudhayl.³ Therefore, the entry of the Musalmans into Makkah after eight years of exile resulted only in some bloodshed. The victims on the side of the Muslims were two, namely Kurz ibn Jābir al-Fihri and Khunays b. Khālīd b. Rabi'ah or Hubaysh al-Asha'r ibn Khālīd al-Ka'bi of the tribe of Khuzā'ah. Khālīd was asked for an explanation for this by the Prophet himself. His

1. Ibn Ishāq, 812-14/546-7.

2. *Ibid*, 814/548; Muir, p. 405; Ghulam Sarwar, pp. 347, 349.

3. Balādhuri, I, 39 text/64-5 tr.; The casualty on the Makkan side was twelve to thirteen; cf. Ibn Ishāq, 818/550.

explanation satisfied the Prophet who had pitched his tent on the top of Jabal Hind near the tombs of Khadijah and Abu Talib. The Prophet forgot all the persecutions he had suffered at the hands of the Makkans and declared general amnesty except to a few proscribed persons¹ and the Makkans went unpunished, an act hardly paralleled even in the annals of modern civilized nations. Muir observes, "The conduct of Mahomet, on the conquest of Mecca, was marked by singular magnanimity and moderations. It was indeed for his own interest to forgive the past, and to cast all its slights and injuries into oblivion. But it did not the less require a large and generous heart to do this."² They were neither reproached for their past heinous crimes nor asked for a pledge for their future conduct and return the confiscated properties of the refugees. 'Ikrimah who had fled from the city was called back and forgiven. No force was used for the conversion of the Makkans to Islām and no such condition was attached to the terms of amnesty. The ancient social organization of Makkah was respected and the Quraysh were allowed to govern themselves according to their own old customs under the guidance of a representative of the Prophet namely 'Attāb b. Asid, an Umayyad and 'Uthmān b. Talhah was handed over the key of the Ka'bah.³

1. Ten persons including 'Abdullah ibn Khatal, Miqyas ibn Hubabah, al-Huwayrith b. Nuqaydh, Habbar and three women musicians who sang songs satirising the Prophet were excluded from this general amnesty. Cf. Ibn Ishāq, 818-20/550-2; *Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. II, 325; Muir, *the Life of Mahomet*. They were proscribed for come their being guilty of specific faults and heinous crimes and did not under the purview of the general amnesty. See for details Watt, *Muhammad at Madinah*, pp. 67-69 ; Balādhuri, I, 41-3/66-8 tr.
2. *The Life of Mahomet*, London 1831, p. 133.
3. Ibn Ishāq, 821/554, 843/568.

The Holy Prophet made seven *ṭawāf* (circuits) of the Ka'bah and had the door of the Ka'bah opened by 'Uthmān b. Ṭalḥah, the holder of the keys, and restored its sanctity by the removal of idols and pictures of angels and Mary,¹ turned to the '*place of Aḥrām*' and offered prayers and sanctioned the kissing of *Ḥajr Aswad* (the sacred Black Stone).² People gathered round him in the Ka'bah and the Prophet delivered his sermon on the Unity of God, abolition of the customs and practices of the Quraysh and laid emphasis on the duty of man to God and humanity. Though he was now the supreme head and undisputed ruler of Makkah, Madīnah and some other parts of Arabia but he did not mention even a word about kingly power and grandeur and the duties of the subjects in his inaugural address. He abolished the hereditary pride of the 'Arabs, especially the Makkans, in race and wealth.

It was the noble behaviour of the Prophet which attracted the people of Makkah in groups to listen to him and accept Islām. There were some Makkans who preferred to lead a heathen life and they were allowed to do so. Even Muir confesses, "Although the city had cheerfully accepted his authority, all its inhabitants had not yet embraced the new religion, nor formally acknowledged his prophetic claim. Perhaps he intended to follow the

1. A curious story about the appearance of the goddess Nā'ilah in the shape of a black woman and shrieking a heathen belief cf. Wellhausen, *Mohammad in Medina*, p. 341.
2. Such fetish-worship in the memory of Abraham was questioned once by Ḥaḍrat 'Umar. "I know that thou art a stone, without power to harm or to help and had I not seen the Messenger of God kiss thee I would not kiss thee." (Bukhārī, ed. Krehl, I, p. 406).

course he had pursued at Madīnah and leave the conversion of the people to be gradually accomplished without compulsion.”¹ The Prophet hated no man and loved all mankind, his friends and foes. The conquest of Makkah was nothing but the supremacy of Truth over falsehood.

“Truth has come and falsehood has disappeared

Surely falsehood is bound to disappear.”²

Battle of Hunayn and Capture of Tā'if:- The Prophet could hardly enjoy his success for a fortnight at Makkah before a menacing cloud gathered around him. He wanted peace but was forced by circumstances to take up arms and smash at Hunayn the valley behind the ‘Arafāt hills situated at a distance of about ten miles from Makkah the coalition of the Hawāzin and the Thaqīf. The news of the fall of Makkah spread panic among the neighbouring ‘Arab tribes including the Hawāzins inhabiting the slopes to the east of Makkah. They were so greatly jealous of Islām’s rise to power and proud of their own strength that even after the fall of Makkah they did not think of submitting to Muḥammad. The ‘Arab Bedouins had been deeply influenced by the Islamic teaching but they were afraid of loss of their independence and prestige and therefore could not reconcile themselves with the rising tide of Islām. After the fall of Makkah, at the earliest opportunity, they prepared themselves to strike a blow at Islām. They were joined by a number of Bedouin tribes including Thaqīf, Naṣr and Juṣhm and other related tribes in the Najd and brought about twenty to thirty thousand men in the battle-field of Autas.

On receiving intelligence the Holy Prophet gathered twelve thousand men and marched on 8th Shawwāl 8H (27th January, 630) against them within three weeks of his

1. *The Life of Mahomet* by Muir, William, quoted by Sarwar

p...
2. Qur’an, 15: 81 or 17: 82

stay at Makkah. The Hawāzin came and took their stand on the slopes and posted their archers in the passes of the hill of Hunayn and the Muslims had to stand in the Valley in a very disadvantageous position unlike that held by them at Uḥud. The Hawāzins were skilled in archery and in the use of the sling and had stored a year's provision at Ṭā'if. The battle ensued on 11th Shawwāl (January 31) and showers of arrows and stone balls rained upon the Muslims and the main army under Malik b. 'Awf, a young man of thirty, advanced to meet the Muslims. The van of the Muslim army commanded by Khālīd consisted of Makkan auxiliaries and non-Muslims who could not withstand the onslaught. Their retreat forced the main army of the Muslims to retire in confusion but the Prophet who was in the centre of his men in the rear stood his ground firmly along with some Banū Hāshim and Anṣārs, re-assembled his retreating force and counter-attacked the advancing foes so fiercely that they lost ground and fled pell mell. Here the archers of the Hawāzins and their allies, the Thaqīf, committed the same mistake which the Muslim archers had made in the battle of Uḥud. Their women, children and cattle which, according to the fashion of the Bedouins, had accompanied them to the battle-field all fell into the hands of Muslims. The booty included 6,000 prisoners, 24,000 sheep, 28,000 camels and 41,000 ounces of silver which was distributed among the Muslims and one-fifth of the spoils went to the State treasury.

After exterminating the Hawāzins the Muslims marched against the Banū Thaqīf. Their stronghold Autas was captured and Ṭā'if was besieged. In the siege of Ṭā'if the Muslims made use of slings for the first time. The siege engines were continuously destroyed by flames. The siege had to be raised within three weeks with threats

that it would be renewed. The Bedouins came in large number and accepted Islām. The Banū Thaqīf were reduced to beggary by the Bedouins constantly patrolling beneath the walls of Tā'if which accepted the suzerainty of Islām within six months after the siege. A deputation of the Hawāzin and Thaqīf waited upon the Prophet and requested him to release the prisoners. He released the prisoners that had fallen to his own and his family's lots and commended their request to the Muslim congregation for sympathetic consideration at the time of afternoon prayers. The Prophet was not willing to interfere with them in the free exercise of their rights although he wished to help the Banū Thaqīf and so he had to intercede for the release of 6,000 prisoners who were still idolaters. Deviating from his general policy, Prophet Muḥammad relieved the Thaqīfs of the alms and the obligation to fight with a view to induce them to accept Islām when they would themselves volunteer to pay zakāt and fight *jihād*.

From the said one-fifth of the booty the Prophet gave some generous gifts to certain chiefs of the Quraysh and the allied Bedouins for the purpose of conciliation and in recognition of their peaceful surrender and the recipients became known as *al-mu'allafah qulūbihim* (those whose hearts are conciliated). Thus three hundred camels and one hundred ounces of silver were given to Abū Sufyān, two hundred camels to Ḥākim b. Hizām and one hundred camels to Ṣafwān b. Umayyah, Qays b. 'Adī, Suhayl b. 'Amr, Huwayṭib b. 'Abd al-'Uzzah, Aqrā b. Ḥābis, 'Unayna b. Ḥiṣn each and many others were given fifty camels each. When the Anṣārs murmured at this, the Holy Prophet consoled them by saying that his presence among them was more valuable than the wordly riches.¹

1. Ibn Ishāq, pp. 886/596-7

Expeditions to Muṭah and Tabūk (Syria): As the Jews were determined to sabotage the Muslims from within, the Christian Chiefs in the North were out to harass the Muslims from abroad. On the other hand while the Prophet was trying to establish peace within he also sent invitations to outside rulers and chiefs to accept the religion of peace. What a contrast between the attitude of the Prophet and his opponents!¹ Dihyah b. Khalīfah al-Kalbi was sent with an epistle to Heraclius the Caesar of the Eastern Roman Empire who had recently gained victory over the Persians. Abū Sufyān who happened to be in Ghazah (Syria) and had not yet accepted Islām was called by Heraclius to Constantinople to interpret the contents of the Prophet's letter. In spite of the fact that Abū Sufyān was the worst enemy of the Prophet he drew true picture of Islām and the Prophet while explaining the contents of the letter.² The Caesar tried to persuade the clergy to accept Islām but they would not agree. Ḥarith Ghassānī the *Musta'rib* (Arabicized) Christian Chief of Buṣrā (Bostra) turned down the invitation of the Prophet and ordered for the march of an army on Madīnah. The Ghassānid border troops were defeated and driven back. Similarly, the 'Arab Chief-tain Shurahbīl who owned allegiance to the Byzantine Emperor also did not honour his letter and assassinated the messenger leading to the event of Muṭah near Karak on the south-eastern lip of the Dead Sea beyond the Jordan on the frontier of al-Balqā' in the autumn of 629. An army of 3,000 was sent under the command of Zayd b. Ḥarith the adopted son of the Prophet in Jumādā I, 8H

2. *Musnad*, III, 341 quoted by Margoliouth, p. 429.

3. Shiblī, 464-7.

(Sept. 629).¹ In the neighbourhood of the Dead Sea they were confronted by 150,000 men of the Byzantine Emperor and the 'Arab chiefs who were attached to the Byzantine patrician Theodorous. The battle was fought at Muṭṭah and the Muslims were defeated. The Muslim General Zayd was killed with twelve of his men and his two successors Ja'far b. Abū Ṭālib and 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥah successively.² Khālīd gave the proof of his generalship by leading back to Madīnah the remnants of his troops. This earned him the title of *Sayf Allāh* from the Prophet for he had fought so furiously that as many as nine swords were shattered to pieces.

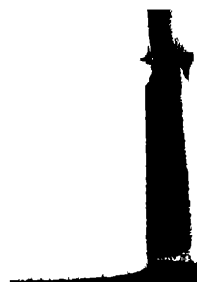
The Christians of the North did not remain content driving out the Muslim army from their land (Syria) but viewed with a jealous eye the rapid growth of Islām and planned to attack Arabia. In the year the Muslims won the battle at Badr, the Byzantines had defeated the Persians and recovered their lost territories. Now when the victories of Islām over the Makkans and the Hawāzins were reported to the Byzantines they cherished a desire of converting the 'Arabs to their Christian religion. The Caesar, Heraclius, therefore gathered a large force and allying himself with the Ghassānids ordered the Christian army to march into Arabia in Rajab 9H. (November 630)

1. Ṭabarī, 1610. Quoting *Memoire sure la conquete de la Syrie*, Leyden, 1900, p. 5, Hitti comments, "the real one (object of the Muṭṭah expedition) was to secure the coveted *Mashrafiyah* swords manufactured at Muṭṭah and neighbouring towns with a view to using them in the impending attack on Makkah." As we know the Makkans however surrendered peacefully to the Muslims.
2. Ibn Ishāq, 791-96/531-35.

The Prophet had only raised the siege of Ṭā'if because his presence was earnestly required at Madīnah to organize his new conquests and to further the cause of Islām but, soon after, the report of the march of Christian army from the border of Arabia reached Madinah and Muḥammad had now to leave for Syria. He collected a large force numbering 30,000 strong including 10,000 horsemen and received as contributions, 1,000 camels and 10,000 dinārs from 'Uthmān; while Abū Bakr placed his whole property at the disposal of the Prophet. Many Madinites did not join the expedition on the plea that the booty would fall to others. 'Abd Allāh ibn Ubayy with a similar strength that the Holy Prophet commanded refused to accompany him on the ground that the Muslim force would be no match for the Byzantines.

The Muslim army marched as far as Tabuk, the frontier of the Ghassān land about 300 miles (two weeks' journey) from Madīnah. It was an oasis with grain fields and palm groves. The Muslims were not able to contact the Byzantines who had retired to Syria but scoured the country all round. The Christian Governor Yuhanna (John) b. Rubah (Ruya) of 'Aylah came to the head of the Gulf of Aqābah on the north-east of Red Sea, submitted to Muḥammad agreeing to pay tribute amounting to three hundred dinars at the rate of one dinār per head¹ which later became known as *jizyah* as a payment in lieu of military service. Jirba (Jarba) and Adhrah (Adhruh) the two Syrian communities and other Christian tribes also made their submissions and agreed to pay tribute every Rajab at the same rate. Thus a few oases inhabited by the Jews and Christians were occupied by the Muslims on the Syrian border.

1. Balādhurī, 59/92 tr.; Wāqidī, 425-6.



The Jewish and Christian tribes were taken under protection and they were allowed to profess their religions and retain their property on the payment of annual tribute as fixed in the treaties concluded with them separately. Ukaydir b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Kindi the Christian prince of Dumat al-Jandal and his brother Hassan who were playing havoc with the people in the frontier were captured by Khālid. Hassan was killed and Ukaydir was brought as prisoner to Madīnah where the Prophet had returned earlier. He was released on a guarantee for maintaining law and order and was relieved of military duty on the payment of tribute perhaps at the same rate as other Christian and Jewish chiefs did.¹ As Muhammad wanted peace so after the retirement of the Byzantines neither territory was attacked nor the Christian and Jewish tribes living on the border were compelled to accept Islām. The Muslim soldiers suffered considerably due to the long journey taken in the hot season but gained no booty as they did not have to fight battles. This was a year of famine in Arabia so some greedy hypocrites made fun of Muhammad's return empty handed from Syria. Prophet Muhammad returned from Tabuk in Ramaḍān 9H./Dec 630.

Deputations from 'Arab Tribes and Spread of Islam :— The main aim of the Holy Prophet was to spread Islām for which he established peace when and wherever necessary. After his peaceful entry into Makkah the major problem of the difficulties was solved. The wars and battles that he had to wage afterwards for the establishment of peace were the ancillary duties of the Prophet and the preaching of Islām continued unabated. The acceptance of Islām by the Quraysh facilitated his task very

1. Ibn Ishāq, 903/607-8; Balādhurī, 61; cf. Margoliouth, 422-3.

much and created a tremendous impression on the general populace of Arabia because the Quraysh were the most influential and honoured people of Makkah nay of the whole Arabia.¹ Formerly the preachers were told by them that Muḥammad should preach and convince his own men (the Quraysh) but the submission of the Makkans proved the success of the Prophet in the teeth of all oppositions. People began to join Islām in large numbers and they themselves began to send deputations to Muḥammad or invite preachers from Madīnah. Deputations came from Mahrah, Najrān, Yaman, Ḥaḍramawt, Baḥrayn and ‘Umān the places where no military expeditions were sent but most of them had been visited by Muḥammad on his trading expeditions before his prophethood. The majority of their chiefs accepted Islām through delegations or epistles. These deputations were the result of ‘the Prophet’ invitations extended to the chiefs of Arabia and were hastened by the fall of Makkah. The Sabaeans of South Arabia suffered at the hands of the Bedouins of Tihamah after the decay of the Persians. In the general anarchy that followed numerous tribes of Yaman accepted Islām particularly after the fall of Makkah by sending delegations.

The Christians of Mahrah and Yaman joined the fold of Islām. Delegations from the Christian tribes, Banū Ḥanīfah and Banū Taghlib, were received about this time. The Christian tribes, Banū Ḥarīth and Banū Kindah of Najrān situated between Makkah and Yaman, sent deputations under the leadership of their Prince ‘Abd al-Masīḥ and priest of Catholic Church and were accommodated in the Prophet’s mosque at Madīnah and allowed to pray therein

1. Ibn Ishāq, 933/628 tr.

according to their own rituals. They did not accept Islām and returned after agreeing to pay a substantial tribute which amounted to thirty cuirasses and 2,000 garments of their own mills annually and Abū ‘Ubaydah was sent there as an administrator.¹

A deputation of the Banū Ka‘b to whom Khālīd had been sent to preach Islām came to Madīnah from Najrān and embraced Islām. Another deputation received in the 9th A. H. was from the Banū Asad the former allies of the Quraysh against the Muslims. In the same year ‘Āmir b. Tufayl, Chief of the Banū ‘Āmir, came to Madīnah on a deputation and flattering Muḥammad he wanted to kill him with the co-operation of his companion Arbad b. Qays. Having failed in his design he threatened Muḥammad with ruining him but on his way back he himself died of plague.

The Bajīlah tribe who had their own Ka‘bah in Yaman, the Dhu’l Khalaṣah Temple, called after the idol Khalaṣah, sent a deputation to Madīnah in 10 A. H. They accepted Islām, and their Ka‘bah was demolished. Islām spread in al-Baḥrayn from 5 to 10 H. Tribe after tribe and clan after clan entered the fold of Islām. Ibn Ishāq says, “The courteous treatment which the deputations of these various clans experienced from the Prophet, his ready attention to their grievances, the wisdom with which he composed their disputes, and the politic assignments of territory by which he rewarded an early declaration in favour of Islām, made his name popular and spread his fame as a great and generous prince throughout the Peninsula.”² The period of warfare

1. *Musnad*, I, 222 quoted by Margoliouth, p. 434.

2. Ibn Ishāq, p. 648 seq quoted by Arnold, p. 35.

being over, the Arabs joined Islām in multitudes¹ till by the end of the 10th Hijrah the entire Peninsula except a few Christian and Jewish habitations and a few heathens here and there became the home of one religion, that of Islām. As many non-Muslim 'Arab chiefs accepted the suzerainty of Islām the verse of *sūrah Tawbah* relating to the collection of *jizyah* was revealed in 9 A. H.¹ It was this success of the Prophet which made him the universal ruler of Arabia. Muḥammad's attempt was the first in the history of Arabia seeking to organise the State purely on a religious basis with Allāh as its Supreme Head and the Prophet as His vicegerent on earth. Thus in addition to spiritual functions, the Prophet exercised absolute temporal authority. But he hated the show of grandeur and power and his ambition was to preach the faith of God and not to acquire the earthly kingdom which came as a corollary to his religious triumph. His temporal authority depended solely on the voluntary co-operation of his followers which he gained due to the affection and respect engendered by his moral and intellectual qualities. Such loyalties and support were much more valuable than these gained otherwise. To govern and administer such a state was less expensive and irksome than the management of a state based solely on authority. That is why in spite of his material resources being poor, he was able to rule successfully.

The success of Muḥammad in the wars that the Prophet fought on different occasions and at different places made Islām popular throughout Arabia. Those who came to Makkah to perform the pilgrimage after its fall carried the news of the triumph of Islām to distant corners of Arabia. Religious freedom and peace favoured Islām. On the dis-

1. Shibli, I, 572.

appearance of long-standing prejudice Islām took hold. This is why in 9 and 10 H. Islām spread to a larger part of Arabia than it did in the previous eight years. The ninth year of Hijrah (630-31 A. C.) when tribes after tribes joined the fold of Islām became known as the year of deputations (*sanat al-wufūd*). Towards the end of this year after the revelation of the *surah bara't* the Prophet gave four months time to all the 'Arab tribes for accepting Islām, otherwise God and His Prophet would not take the responsibility of their safety. As a result of this during the time of *ḥajj* in the following year Muḥammad could gather more than eleven million followers in the field of 'Arafāt to deliver his last message.¹

It was in the year of *wufūd* that the Prophet introduced the system of the collection of *zakāt* (poor rate) from the Muslims to be deposited into the *Bayt al-Māl*.² Because of this tax many of the tribes hesitated to embrace Islām in the beginning as they could not reconcile themselves to the payment of *zakāt*. They regarded this an institution of humiliation and submission as traditionally the Arabs were a freedom-loving race. When Bishr b. Sufyān was sent to collect *zakāt* from the tribes, Khuzā'ah and Tamīm, the Ka'b a clan of the former paid but Khuzā'ah and Tamīm did not until the arrival of 'Uwaynah b. Ḥiṣn who forced them to pay it. Similarly the Banū Mustalīq hesitated in doing so. It was however the personality of Muḥammad which induced the 'Arab tribes to pay *zakāt* but after his death they withheld payment of *zakāt* until Abū Bakr forced them to pay it. However the Bedouins who were the raw materials of Islām gave up their heathenism gradually for a higher morality and a nobler faith.

1. Hamid Allah, p. 271; Shiblī, I, 568-71.

2. Tabarī, Vol. IV, 1722; Shiblī, I, 571.

The Arabs had become so much idol minded that even after accepting Islām they apprehended danger in destroying idols. Towards the close of the ninth year of the Hijrah a deputation of the Banu Thaqīf from Ṭā'if waited on the Prophet in Madīnah. They wanted a concession that their goddess al-Lat should not be destroyed for three years because that would not be liked by their women folk. When the Prophet rejected this demand of theirs, they wanted relief from prayer which was also rejected. They were afraid of pulling down their idol by themselves for that might bring grief to them. At last Abū Sufyān and Mughīrah were sent to pull down their idol al-Lat.¹ Before the expiry of the 9th Hijrah Islām spread all over the eastern and southern Arabia. Among the new converts were the two famous 'Arab poets, Labid and al-A'sha. The former was the spokesman of the Kilab clan of the Hawāzin and the second was a great wandering troubadour who sang in praise of 'Arab chiefs, and after conversion to Islām in praise of the Prophet.

The Farewell Pilgrimage : After the military expedition to Tabūk there was peace and the Holy Prophet was busy in explaining the precepts of Islām to the new converts and organising the newly created State. He had performed 'umrah twice—once before the fall of Makkah and another time on his return journey from Ṭā'if after the fall of Makkah. In the previous year (631 A. C.) he sent Abū Bakr to lead the *hajj* at Makkah when unbelievers were forbidden to perform the pilgrimage of Ka'bah and 'Alī read out the decree from the ninth surah of the Qur'an at Mina. Prophet Muḥammad himself was otherwise busy so he thought of performing the *hajj* and leading his followers to that in the

1. Ibn Ishāq, 916-7/615-6

following year and thus to put into practice one of the rituals of Islām. He sent messengers in various directions asking the tribes men to join him in performing the *hajj* in commemoration of Abraham. About 114,000 Muslims gathered in the tents pitched outside the city of Madīnah renouncing their tribal feuds and jealousies. They started on the pilgrimage with belongings and foodstuffs on the 15th of *Dhu'l Qa'dah* 10 H. The Prophet took his wives with him on this pilgrimage and he also brought along camels to sacrifice. On the 10th day they reached Sarif (*Dhu'l-Hulayfa*) six miles from Makkah where they encamped and the following morning they put on the *iḥrām* (the pilgrim's garb, an unsewn piece of cloth) for the performance of the *hajj*. On reaching Makkah the Prophet approached the Ka'bah through *Shaybah Gate* and invoked blessings for the sacred edifice. He with his followers circumambulated the Ka'bah seven times, prayed at the station of Abraham and ran seven times up and down between the hills of Marwa and Safa. On the 8th *Dhu'l hijjah* he went to *Ḥamīrah* en route to 'Arafāt where after the morning prayer, he called upon his followers to assemble in the Valley of 'Arafāt and delivered his last address on camel back enjoining the basic duties of Islām on the Muslims and the sacredness of life and property and of domestic obligations. He asked the audience to convey his message to those who were absent.

His speech may be summed up thus : "O men, listen to my words. I do not know whether I shall ever meet you in this place again after this year. Muslim life and property are sacred and they would be responsible to God, on the Day of Judgement, for their deed on earth. Trusts should be returned intact to their owners; usuary is prohibited; compensation for bloodshed is abolished; testament to the

prejudice of lawful heirs is not lawful; they should beware of evil ones, although honoured outside, and guard their faith from Satan; men have rights over women and they have rights over men; the wives are trusts from God, and should be treated with all kindness; slaves should be treated equally in the matters of dress and food; all Muslims are equal and are brothers to one another, and therefore they should not usurp the rights of others."

At the end of his speech, looking up to heaven he said that he had delivered his message and discharged his Ministry and the audience cried "Ye !" in reply ¹

This was the last message of the Prophet in which he had made God his Witness. This pilgrimage is known variously as the Pilgrimage of the Message because he had delivered his message to all, and the Pilgrimage of Islām because it was here that Islām was epitomized and the Farewell Pilgrimage because it was the last pilgrimage of the Prophet.

On his return to Madīnah Prophet Muḥammad did not live more than three months. Within this period the Prophet made preparations for another expedition against the Byzantines but before he could finalize matters, he fell ill towards the end of the month of Ṣafar, 11H. (May, 632). As his condition became serious, he appointed Abū Bakr to lead the prayers in place and once when there was slight improvement in his condition he also performed *ṣalāt* (prayer) behind him.

While he lay ill in the house of his wife 'Ā'ishah, on Monday, 12th Rabi' al-Awwal, 11H. (June 8, 638) the Prophet was attacked by a severe headache and towards noon the

1. Ibn Ishāq 968-9/651-2; *Ta'rikh al-Ya'qūbī*, II, 122-3; *Ta'rikh-i-Tabarī*, IV, 431; Hamid Allah, 302-305.

same day death throes started and he uttered, "God forgive me, have compassion on me, and take me into the highest heaven" and expired. May God shower His best blessings on him.

This grievous news shocked all his disciples and admirers and stonely silence enveloped the city of Madīnah. Of his companions, 'Umar would not believe the news of his death. However, Abū Bakr, the Chief companion, stood and declared publicly the news of the death and exclaimed that there is an end to all matter except God. The sorrowing assembly of Muslim elders elected Abū Bakr Caliph in the place of the Holy Prophet, arrangement for the burial of whose corpse now began and the mortal remains of the Prophet were interred in the spot where he breathed his last.

An Appreciation of the Prophet : The Prophet was the embodiment of all that was noble and good. He lived a simple and austere life, ate plain food, wore coarse cloth made of camel-hair and often patched clothes and lived in a simple hut, furnished with mats and sheep skins. He despised no work, however low it might be. Muhammad assisted his wives in household affairs and worked as an ordinary labourer in the construction of the mosque and in the digging of the trench at Madīnah. He was generous to his enemies and a staunch friend of his followers, and sympathised with the poor and the distressed and rendered even-handed justice to all.

The Holy Prophet strove for the acceptance of the concept of the Unity of God, created a brotherhood among the continually fighting Arabs and preached the fraternity of man. He set examples of Islamic equality and unity in

which there was no distinction between a labourer^{*} and a merchant, all of whom stood together before God in the act of prayer. For the Friday prayer there was a strong recommendation that the Muslims should gather together in the Grand Mosque.¹ The pilgrimage fostered yet a strong sense of community. The Prophet anticipated the future quarrels between the Muhājirs and the Anṣārs and like a true statesman in the cause of Islām, he made them unite through the cord of *Ikhwān* (brotherhood). The sense of brotherhood between Muslims became very deep. The establishment of this new type of group, the Islamic community (*Ummah*), was not based on blood-relationship, but on a common religious allegiance. Muḥammad was the last Prophet, and preached the new faith which superseded Judaism and Christianity. On him descended the last Holy Book of God, namely *al-Qur'an*. The Prophet's daily life embodied the observance and performance of the Quranic teachings and was a practical realization of the immense prescriptions in the Holy Book.

The Prophet was easy of access to all and received deputations and embassies with utmost courtesy. He did not like that his companions should rise on his arrival nor did he allow his followers to kiss his hand—a Persian custom. 'In shaking hands, he was not the first to withdraw his own; nor was he the first to break off in conversation with a stranger, nor to turn away his ear.' He accepted invitations from all classes of people, even from the humble lowly slaves and seated himself in assemblies so unobtrusively that it was difficult for a stranger to recognise

1. *Qur'an*, 62.9

him. He would not speak unless it was necessary and seldom expressed his anger. He never interrupted when others were talking and joined them in laughter. He always greeted his friends with a smiling mien and would not listen to slander and backbiting of his friends.

Muhammad sympathised with the suffering of widows, orphans and the helpless, frequented the homes of the ailing and enquired about their health. The Qur'an insisted on good treatment for orphan because the dead did not inherit and the living could not represent the dead. The Prophet often went without food but fed the beggar and the hungry with his last morsel. As a great reformer he cared little for his own comfort but was always anxious for the comfort and well-being of others. He observed once, "My case is like that of a mounted wayfarer who pauses at noon under the shade of a tree just to rest for a while, and then proceed on his way."¹

The hardest journey that the Prophet had ever in his Madinite life was the Tabuk expedition when people deserted him and his prophethood was put on trial.

On his way to Tabuk his camel strayed and his men went in search of it. Zayd al-Lusayt, a hypocrite, came to his companion 'Umrah b. Hazm and taunted him with believing in the Prophethood of one who claimed that he received revelations from God while he did not know the whereabouts of his own camel. The Prophet learnt this and said that he knew only what he was told by God. Then he received a revelation and gave out the whereabouts of the lost camel and people fetched it from the place indicated by the Prophet.¹

1. Ibn Ishāq, 900-1/605-6 tr.

During the course of the Tabūk expedition he found the Wādī al-Mushaqqaq dry while his men were thirsty. The Prophet rubbed the rock and water burst forth.¹

While proceeding to Tabūk, Abū Dharr due to the slow speed of his camel was left behind. He then left the camel and taking his gear walked along the track of the Prophet. Seeing him walking alone from a distance the Prophet remarked, "He walks alone and he will die alone and be raised alone." His prophecy came to be true and Abū Dharr died alone later at Rabādhah and his wife and slave waited until 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd passed through that place and helped them in burying the dead.²

The Prophet overlooked the shortcomings of others and never gave himself airs of condescension and superiority. He did not rebuke the archers who had left their positions in the battle of Uhud in breach of his order. He was noted for his moral courage which he displayed throughout his life time in Makkah and Madīnah. For the noble cause of Islām he faced all tortures, harassments and oppressions with fortitude because of his profound and unshakeable conviction that he had been chosen to be a Prophet.

Prophet Muḥammad was called *al-Amīn* for his trustworthiness and was known for his impartiality, integrity, sincerity, austerity, hospitality and gentleness even before he received the Prophetic message. During the reconstruction of the Ka'bah when the four tribes quarrelled over the placing of Ḥajr Aswad his decision was final. At Madīnah he served as the arbitrator between the Jews and idolators in their

1. *Ibn Ishāq*., 904/608 tr.

2. *Ibid.*, 901/606 tr.

disputes. In spite of the perpetual treachery of the Jews he decided a case against a Muslim and in favour of a Jew.¹ He was true to his word and honoured the terms of treaties. Thus honouring the term of the armistice of Hdaybiyah he refused to give shelter to a Makkan Muslim. Even his arch-enemy Abū Sufyān gave clear testimony to his fidelity and sincerity, when the Byzantine Emperor enquired of him.

The Prophet was just and temperate in the exercise of his power. He treated his enemies with clemency and never took vengeance even from his worst enemies for any personal reason. For the treachery of Ibn Ubayy, ‘Umar and even Ibn Ubayy’s son who was a true Muslim sought permission from the Prophet to kill him but they were not permitted.¹ In spite of continuous treachery, the hypocrite ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ubayy not only went unpunished but the Prophet even prayed for the rest of his departed soul. The Makkans, the sworn enemies of Islām, except a few, were forgiven and prisoners of war were freed. Exemplary punishment was given only to those who were beyond redemption.

The Prophet strictly followed the Quranic teaching to pardon the wrong-doer. His treatment of the Makkans on the fall of Makkah is unique in the history of human civilization. Such inveterate foes of Islām like Abū Sufyān and his wife Hindah went entirely unpunished. In this connection Arnold remarks, “Among those who came in after the fall of Mēcca were some of the most bitter persecutors of Muḥammad in the earlier days of

1. Bukhārī, II, 728 ; Tabarī. 1515

his mission, to whom his noble forbearance and forgiveness now gave a place in the brotherhood of Islām.”¹ He was extremely modest and frank in the case of religion and used to point out the wrongs done by his followers.

The Prophet was kind and affectionate and took great interest in the welfare of his followers. There are numerous stories which illustrate his gentleness and tenderness of feeling. He felt especial tenderness towards children and got on well with them. He made fun with the children who returned from Abyssinia and spoke Abyssinian.² He was cordial to the Abyssinian delegates remembering how the Negus had given shelter to Muslim refugees in their hour of distress. His kindness extended even to animals.³ The Prophet was humble but brave and courageous when the occasion demanded as he allowed sundry of his own followers to seek sanctuary in Abyssinia and Madīnah while he himself moved only later when he came to know the plot to kill him in bed.

Dismay, despair and despondency were unknown to him. When in the cave of *Ṭhaur* all means of escape seemed to have disappeared, he exclaimed, “Most surely Allāh is with us.” In the battles of Uḥud and Ḥunayn, when his own life was in imminent danger he stood fast like a strong general and called in his own men to continue the brave fight. He strove his utmost for his mission and the rest he left to the Grace of Allāh.

Muḥammad denounced polytheism and idolatry and secured the most distinguished position for Islām among the religions of the world. His success in the mission

1. *The Preaching of Islam*, p. 38

2. Ibn Sa‘d, IV/1, 721 quoted by Watt, *Madīna*, 323

3. Waqidī, *Maghāzī*, 327 quoted by Watt, *Madīna*, 323.

was amazing to friends and foes alike. "Of all the religious personalities of the world, Muhammad was the most successful"¹ While testifying to the good character of Abū Bakr, Muir absolved Muhammad from the charge of being an impostor.² To raise the people like the Arabs, ignorant of religious principles, and communal life, to such exalted status within such a brief period was indubitably the marvelous achievement of the Prophet. The long standing religious beliefs and moral and social evils and corruptions of the Arabs were brushed off like cobwebs. He infused in them a sense of human dignity and responsibility.

The Prophet made reforms in the marriage and family laws and raised the status of women and slaves in the Islamic society. He preached about the rights of women *vis-à-vis* the rights of men and those of the slaves against their masters. To free a slave was always regarded a pious act³ and the freeing of a Muslim slave was prescribed as compensation to community in case where one believer had killed another unintentionally.⁴ In the country-side there were the perennial problems of nomadic life and in the towns of Makkah and Madīnah the concept of the clan had given place to individualism. Prophet Muhammad was a staunch believer in individual freedom within an organised society. In the Islamic society the *Ummah* comprised a conglomeration of allied clans and tribes dedicated

1. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed.,

2. "Had Muhammad begun his career as a conscious impostor he never could have won the faith and friendship of a man (Abū Bakr) who was not only sagacious and wise, but throughout his life simple, consistent and sincere." (The *Caliphate*, p. 81.)

3. *Qur'an*, 2, 177/172.

4. *Ibid.*, 4, 92/94.

to the maintenance of the security of life and property. Thus the *asabiyah* system (tribal loyalty) of the Arabs was expanded in scope until it changed into the Islamic Brotherhood. Later, tribal feelings were revived and played an important role in domestic politics but they lost their darker and more undependable features for ever. A vital change was brought to 'Arab tribal society by Islām as it appears from the speech delivered by Abū Ṭālib's son Ja'far before the Abyssinian King, Negus, "O King we were in ignorance, worshipped idols, ate animals which had not been slain according to religion, committed hateful things, violated the domestic law as well as that of hospitality, until God sent a messenger in our midst whose descent, love of truth, fidelity and continence we knew. He required us to worship God alone and turn away from the worship of stones and other idols which we and our fathers worshipped besides God. He commanded us further to keep our word, uphold the truth, love our relations, protect the guest, abandon that which was forbidden, commit no wickedness, consume not the property of orphans, tell no falsehood, and slander not virtuous women. He has commanded us to add no companion to God, to give alms and fast.¹ In short he spread a pax Islamica over Arabia, a bond of religion stronger than that of clan and struggled successfully to establish the Unity of God and the Universal Brotherhood of Man. The Arabs were imbued with a new fervour in the cause of the truth, which led them to success and carried them to distant countries to convey the message of God. In course of time the

1. Ibn Hishām, I, 219 quoted by Khuda Bakhsh, I, 163-4.

Muslims became the torch-bearers of learning and culture in the darkness of the medieval world.

The civil laws affecting the individual, and particularly the inheritance,¹ were introduced. Islām “aimed at eliminating the abuses which arose in the change from a communal system of ownership to an individualistic one.” The reforms introduced for the security of life and property were fully effective and substituted the uneasy bills between raids with social security. While usury was forbidden, trade was encouraged. In 5 A.H. (626-7 A.C.) the Prophet enjoined that no one, unless he was permitted, should enter his wives’ apartments and they were not to be spoken to except when they were behind the curtain.² The Muslims were forbidden to enter any house without previous permission and Muslim women were commanded to cover themselves with their garments so as to conceal their persons and ornaments from the gaze of the strangers.³

Land tax was imposed on farmers and rich Muslims were asked to give *zakāt* which originated as the voluntary contribution of the rich for the poor and destitute (*ṣadaqah*) calculated on their annual savings and distributed among the poor and needy. The payment of *zakāt* by the rich to the poor helped in maintaining economic and social equilibrium. A code was drawn up by the Prophet concerning contributions in kind and in cash, a camel being equal to ten sheep and a sheep to twenty

1. In 3H/624-5 one of the main provisions of inheritance emerged when Sa’d’s widow complained to the Prophet against the seizure of the property of her husband by his brother and according to the decree of the Prophet, she received one-eighth of the property, her two daughters one-third each and Sa’d’s brother the remainder.

2. Suras, 33, 53 and 59 ff; 24, 31

3. Cf. Nasa’i quoted by Margoliouth, p. 414.

dirhams. Thus the foundation of the Islamic State was firmly based on social, religious and economic strength.

Princes and chieftains who submitted were confirmed in their rights and if they were Christians or Jews a tax-collector was deputed to visit them annually and to collect tribute but if they were Muslims, besides a tax-collector a preacher was appointed to instruct them in the principles of Islām.

In order to protect Islām from unwarned calamity he used to send his Muslim followers in batches to various directions to watch enemy activities.¹ This indicates his wisdom and farsightedness and quality as a good leader. It would be unjust to say that his motive was to build an empire, although time and circumstances led to the growth of a powerful Islamic State. But whatever he did, he did for Islām and all through his later life he continued steadfastly to preach Islām and safely exerted himself to the utmost to establish Islām permanently. This was indeed ample testimony of his great vision and wisdom. It was evident that Prophet was the seer, the hero and the statesman. In appreciation of the Holy Prophet Muḥammad, Margoliouth observes, "Ever since the taking of Mecca the Prophet had worked as hard as the most industrious of sovereigns, organising expeditions, giving audiences, despatching ambassadors, dictating letters ; besides hearing complaints, administering justice, and interpreting the law. He worked continuously, allowing himself no day of rest. Always ready to hear and take advice, whatever the subject, he kept all the reins in his own hand, and till his death managed both the external and internal affairs of the vast evergro-

1. *Mohammed and the Rise of Islam*, p. 448

wing community which he had founded, and of which he was both the spiritual and the temporal head. In later times a whole hierarchy of deputies was established for the purpose of discharging those duties; and in the Prophet's time, though no definite officer yet existed, the duties attaching to such had to be performed."¹ Zayd ibn Thābit acted as the private secretary to the Prophet and 'Abd Allāh b. Abu'l Akram as his political secretary. The farsighted political strategy and social reforms of Muḥammad supported the structure of Islām based on the Qura'n which "was admirably suited to the needs and conditions of the day," observed Montgomery Watt.² His skill and tact as an administrator and his wisdom in the choice of men collaborated the sound institutions of Islām in executing the affairs. Watt rightly concludes, "The more one reflects on the history of Muḥammad and of early Islām, the more one is amazed at the vastness of his achievement."³

It was the achievement of the Prophet that as conquerors the Muslims won the foremost position among the mighty nations of the world. They attained the heights of material prosperity and cultural greatness. All this was due to the teachings and reforms of the Prophet, which were all-embracing. He set an example of perfection in all fields of activities. This criterion raised the Prophet above all other prophets and reformers.

In uniting the warring elements of 'Arab society and in establishing the kingdom of God on earth Muḥammad stands unrivalled and in displaying high morals and in living-force he excelled others. Prophet Muḥammad exposed

1. *Muhammad and the Rise of Islam*, p. 448
2. *Muhammad at Madina*, p. 335
3. *Ibid.*, p. 335

the Arabian deities effectively and destroyed the images but he instructed his followers not to talk ill of the religions of others a step which he took to create a spirit of inter-religious good will and to establish a universal peace.

For the universality of his message Muḥammad is most conspicuous among the prophets and spiritual reformers. while other prophets were sent to particular nations and countries, Muḥammad the Holy Prophet was chosen for the uplift of the entire human race. There are various Quranic verses where he has been referred to as 'a mercy for mankind,' 'for the whole mankind,' 'a warner to mankind,' and 'a reminder to all the nations.' The Holy Prophet came to remove the social, racial, national and other artificial barriers and to bind the humanity with the love of one God by preaching a universal faith. A distinctive attribute that the Prophet possessed was that while other prophets preached the secret of national unity and progress Prophet Muḥammad taught the oneness of humanity and showed the ways and means to achieve it. The qualities of all other prophets were embodied in the personality of Muḥammad. Thus he possessed the manliness of Mūsā, the daring of Dā'ūd and the humility of 'Īsā. In short he was the sun in the constellation of the prophets from which light radiates to all directions.

CHAPTER II

PIOUS CALIPHS

(*Khulafā'-i-Rāshidin*)

Section—I

ABŪ BAKR AL-ṢIDDIQ (632 – 634 A. C.)

Early life : 'Abū Bakr's original name was 'Abd Allāh.¹ He was also given the title of Ṣiddīq and 'Atīq. He was younger than the Prophet by about two years having been born in the second or third year of the Elephant era. His mother Umm al-Ḳhayr Salmah was an early convert but his father 'Uḥmān b. 'Amir of the Fihri tribe surnamed Abū Quhāfah accepted Islām only in 8 A. H. (629-30).

Abū Bakr's father held an important position among the Quraysh and was in charge of blood-wit of the tribe.² Not much is known about the childhood of Abū Bakr. He received education and acquired knowledge about the genealogy of the Quraysh more than anybody else in the tribe. Jubayr b. Muṭ'im the greatest genealogist among companions had lessons from Abū Bakr.³ The latter was kind and generous. He fed and clothed the poor and destitute. Because of his wide knowledge, his experience in commerce and his sociable disposition, people used to come to dis-

1. He was called so by his friends and companions of Prophet Muḥammad. The title Ṣiddiq he received from the Prophet himself when the latter described part of his nocturnal journey and the former testified it. (Ibn Ishāq, 265/183tr.).

2. *Kanz al-'Ummāl*, VI, 312.

3. *Tā'riḫ al-Khulafā'* p. 40.

cuss many matters with him.¹ Abū Bakr lived and played with Muḥammad from childhood and introduced him to many persons. Among the elders he was the first to accept Islām. He was an influential merchant. As such, through him many merchants and prominent members of the Quraysh like ‘Uthmān, Zubayr, Sa’d b. Abī Waqqās and ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ‘Awf accepted Islām. He purchased and freed seven slaves including Bilāl when on their acceptance of Islām, they came to be persecuted by their masters.² Spending his wealth thus in the way of God, only five to six thousand dirhams were left with him at the time of the Hijrat.³

Even when the Prophet preached Islām secretly in the house of Zayd ibn Arqam, Abū Bakr often preached the new faith openly and was once beaten severely by the Quraysh for this. While he was proceeding to Abyssinia, he was brought back and given protection by Ibn al-Dughunnah an influential man of Makkah and the head of the Ahabish who called him an ornament of the tribes, a stand by in the misfortune. Ibn al-Dughunnah, however, withdrew his protection when he found Abū Bakr reciting the Qur’an loudly in his private mosque constructed in his compound.⁴ But he yet continued to recite from the Holy Book as usual and thus became a target of attack and torture.⁵ He developed so much intimacy with the Prophet that the latter used to visit him daily either in the morning or at night.⁶ During the Prophet’s migration to Yathrib, Abū

1. Cf. Ibn Ishāq, 161/115 tr.

2. *Ibid.*, 206/144

3. *Ibid.*, 330/225

4. *Ibid.*, 245-6/171

5. *Ibid.*, 246-7/171-2

6. *Ibid.*, 327/223

Bakr was chosen to accompany and accordingly he made preparations for the journey and purchased two camels, one for the Prophet and another for himself although the Prophet insisted on paying price for his camel.

Abū Bakr's services to Islām were still more valuable at Madīnah when the needs of the Muslim community grew rapidly. He purchased the site for the Mosque of Madīnah.¹ Again at the time of raising an army for Tabūk (Syrian) expedition 'Umar wanted to outdo Abū Bakr by contributing half of his wealth to the war funds but to his surprise Abū Bakr contributed all that he had. Here at Madīnah also he was the right hand of the Prophet in all affairs. He participated in all the battles which were fought under the leadership of the Holy Prophet. In the battle of Badr when the Prophet invoked God's aid against the enemies, Abū Bakr guarded his person and then both rushed together into the combat, Abū Bakr displaying great valour. In digging the ditch he toiled like a common labourer side by side with the Prophet himself. Both in the battles of Uḥud and Ḥunayn, Abū Bakr kept firmly to his ground even at the hour of peril.

In the 9th year of the Hijrah he had the honour of leading the pilgrims to Makkah. For the last three days of the Prophet's life, he was the man who led the daily prayers in the Mosque of Madīnah. Among the companions of the Prophet he topped the list and the Prophet used to say that he did not receive help physical and financial from any more than from Abū Bakr.² This was in short the personality of one who was the chief companion of the Prophet in his life and succeeded him after his death.

1. *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, VII, 192.

2. Bukḥarī, quoted by Shāh Mu'in al-Dīn, *Tā'rikḥ-i-Islām*, I, p. 131

Election :—When the Prophet died (11H./632 A. C.) it was Abū Bakr who announced the sad tidings of his demise and ‘Umar could not but believe him. They were still in the Mosque when an Anṣār came running and reported about a gathering of the Anṣārs in the assembly hall of the Thaqīfah Banī Sā‘idah for the purpose of electing a successor to the Prophet. This indeed was a perilous moment in the history of Islām when the future of new faith was at stake. Abū Bakr and ‘Umar who had intended to perform the absequeis first, on hearing the news rushed along with Abū ‘Ubaydah ibn al-Jarrāḥ to the hall and found Sa‘d b. ‘Ubādah the leader of the Khazraj delivering his speech. The Anṣārs were prepared to elect him as the caliph and one of them even stood up and addressed the assemblage stressing the claims of the Anṣārs by referring their services to the Prophet and to Islām. At this opportune moment, Abū Bakr joined the deliberation and declared that as far as the services of the Anṣārs were concerned there was no difference of opinion among the Muslims but the Arabs were not prepared to accept as their Caliph any but a member from the Quraysh who was one of the custodians of the Ka‘bah for they had learnt to venerate the Quraysh alone by long established tradition. In reply the Anṣārs cried, “Let there be two Caliphs as successors to the Prophet” one from the Anṣārs and another from the Quraysh. This proposal, however, if accepted, would have meant the beginnings of a schism within the rank of Islām. Abū Bakr’s response to this proposal. Abū Bakr said, “Here is ‘Umar and Abū ‘Ubaydah you take ba‘yt at the hand of any.” Thereupon ‘Umar stood and said putting his hand into that of Abū Bakr, “you are seniormost and best of all us and dearest and most

close to the Prophet, so I pledge at your hand.”¹ Then ‘Uthmān and ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. ‘Awf followed the suit. The populace pressed forward, and except Sa’d bin ‘Ubādah, the chiefs of the Anṣārs had no alternative but to recognize the favourite companion of the Prophet who had exercised a decisive influence on the Prophet’s politics as his Khālīfah. The Anṣārs therefore took ba’yt on his hand in batches, one after another. Thus due to the tact and prudence of Abū Bakr and ‘Umar and the timely interruption of the Prophet’s old companions a great calamity was averted and the unity of Islām retained. After attending this urgent call of the nation, the last rites for the dead were performed on the following day in the house of his beloved wife, ‘Ā’ishah, the daughter of Abū Bakr.

The following day in the Masjid al-Nabwī, when the general pledge—giving ceremony was over the Caliph addressed the community of Madīnah thus “Support me if I do well ; but set me right, if I am in the wrong” He further observed that he had under-taken to bear the responsibility of the Khilāfat not for power and prestige but to serve Islām and the Muslim brotherhood and concluded with the following words, “Obey me as I obey God and His Prophet. In case I did disobey God and His Prophet, I have no right to obedience from you.”² He proved faithful to his words by deed and action and this was the keystone of his achieving success even in moments of crises when the whole of Arabia rose against Islām. Later ‘Alī and Zubayr who had withheld their pledge in the beginning on some personal grounds³ also came and plighted the formal alle-

1. Bukhārī, I, 518.

2. *Ṭabaqāt* Ibn Sa’d, III, 129.

3. Cf. *Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī*, *Kitāb al-Hudūd* and *Fatḥ al-Bārī* quoted by Shiblī, *Umar the Great*, I, 89; Ṭabarī, p. 1820.

giance to Abū Bakr. Although 'Alī was the leading Hāshimīd he did not go to the Thaqīfah because Abū Bakr was the undisputed head of the Muhājirīn and Sa'd b. 'Ubadah was the recognised chief of the Anṣārs. 'Alī was engaged in collecting the surahs of the Qur'an and had sworn not to do anything before the completion of the work except praying to God. 'Alī being related to the Prophet considered his right to succeed him but nevertheless for this he did not delay his allegiance to the Caliph as it has been related by some.¹ 'Alī's wife, Fāṭimah, however, took exception to the decision to elect Abū Bakr on the ground that the income from the crown (Prophet's) land in Khaybar a part of which she had enjoyed during her father's lifetime as a member of the Prophet's family would go to the Public treasury. She kept aloof from the Caliph during the rest of her short life that she lived. Shortly after Abū Bakr's election when Madīnah was besieged by the persons who did not like to pay *zakāt*, at the Caliph's order, 'Alī and Zubayr defended Madīnah thus belying the report that 'Alī had not taken oath of allegiance to Abū Bakr for six months.

It is true that only selected Muhājirīn and Anṣārs took part in the election but they were indeed the bed-rock of the Muslim community and could be taken to be genuinely representatives, others being later converts were not even fully conversant with the principles of Islām as it transpired from later events e. g. refusal to pay *zakāt* and rise of false prophets. It is understandable that the inclusion of such newly converted tribesmen in the election of a caliph would have been meaningless. As it is, we know that

1. *Ṭabaqāt*, II, 101; Bukhārī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, chapter on Ghazwah Khaybar.

after discussing the pros and cons in the assembly, the choice fell on Abū Bakr who was undoubtedly the most suitable for the post. This instituted the principle of the system of the election of the rulers in the early Islamic State. In this connection it may be appreciated that even in modern constitution all members of the State do not necessarily form the electoral college for the election of the head of State. The main role in the election is, directly or indirectly, restricted to a few selected persons on the basis of education, position and property. In the case of the election of Abū Bakr, the chiefs and influential members of the Muslim Society did participate in the election and their choice was accepted unquestionably subsequently by others with a few exceptions who were not present in the assembly.

Condition of Arabia on the eve of Abū Bakr's Khilāfat :— The life work of the Prophet viz., religious and political unification of Arabia seemed to be imperilled after his death. The internal condition of the home, territory around Madīnah itself, was not satisfactory when Abū Bakr had to send an army to Syria which had been organised by Prophet Muḥammad himself.

After the conquest of Makkah a large number of the Arabs had accepted Islām, but the Prophet's life span was drawing to a close and he had not sufficient time to infuse in them the spirit of Islām. The newly converted masses were scattered over a vast territory which was without adequate and facile means of communication. Many Arabs continued to accept Islām on their own accord without knowing the basic principles of the faith even after the death of the Prophet. Those who came on deputations to Madīnah were comparatively few in number. Also the number of the teachers sent

to the various tribes in distant parts of the country was not adequate for the purpose. The scheme of educating the masses by receiving deputations from and sending missionaries to distant regions was good but it required sufficient time to mature and yield results. This, however, could not be had because of the Prophet's demise.

There was no case of apostasy in Makkah as the Makkans having been in long contact with the Muslims had been convinced of their false religious views and of the essential truth of Islām. The Makkans had seen Prophet Muḥammad both before and after his prophethood and they embraced Islām knowing him personally and understanding his teachings fully. But outside Hijāz people had accepted Islām through their delegations of Chiefs without having seen the Prophet and understanding the Qur'an. Muslim missionaries had not been able to reach all the tribesmen because as stated previously the number of preachers was inadequate and communication was difficult. Therefore those who professed Islām of the distant places at a later stage without getting into its inner spirit were not firm in their faith and staunch supporters of Islām. Many wavering minded Muslims were happy for relapsing into their tribal creeds after the death of the Prophet. The *Dīn* which the Prophet brought and *Muruwwa* which the Pagan Arabs cherished came into collision. Browne sums up the difference between the ideologies of the two thus "Personal courage, unstinted generosity, lavish hospitality, unswerving loyalty to kinsmen, ruthlessness in avenging any wrong or insult offered to one's self or one's relations or tribesmen, these were the cardinal virtues of the old Pagan Arabs while resignation, patience, subordination of personal and tribal interests to the demands of a common faith, unworldliness,

avoidance of ostentation and boastfulness and many other enjoined by Islam were newly calculated to arouse his derision and contempt.”¹ The Bedouins had hitherto been free and independent on their own grazing lands. They were averse to the imposition of taxes on cultivated and pasture lands. Some joined the fold of pretenders and challenged the authority of Islām, others, particularly the tribes living in the north of Madīnah, were prepared to continue as Muslims but wanted exemption from the payment of *zakāt* as a price of their adherence to the new faith. ‘Arab historians depict this explosive situation thus, “The Arabs were on all sides rising in rebellion. Apostasy and disaffection raised their heads; Christians and Jews began to stretch out their necks; and the Faithful were as a flock of sheep without a shepherd, their numbers few, their foes a multitude.”²

The success of Muḥammad in the Prophetic Office inspired many ambitious persons to claim prophethood. Among these claimants four were of importance. The Banī Ḥanīfah a powerful branch of the Banī Bakr of Yamāmah in Central Arabia sent Ḥabīb’s son Maslamah, the diminutive Musaylimah, with some other clansmen on deputation to the Prophet. On his return from Madīnah he declared himself Prophet and introduced prayers counterfeiting the language of the Qura’n and wrote to the Prophet that he had been commissioned to share prophethood and kingship with Muḥammad. The Prophet sent an emissary to dissuade him from making such false claims and to inform him that prophethood was awarded only to the virtuous and rulership

1. *A Literary History of Persia*, 190.

2. Cf. Muir, W., *The Caliphate*, Edinburgh, 1915, p. 11

to one God pleased.¹ Musaylimah did not listen to him and detached his tribesmen from their allegiance to Islām.

Another claimant of prophethood Aswad 'Ansī, a Chief and a wealthy man, rose in Yaman. He convinced his people that he was in communion with God and entered into secret alliances with the neighbouring chieftains. Gathering strength in 10 H. (631-32 A. C.) he expelled the Muslim deputies, occupied Najrān and killed Shahr b. Bāzān, Governor of Yaman, and took possession of its capital, San'a. The Prophet commissioned Mu'adh b. Jabal to quell this rising but before the Madinite force could reach Fīrūz Daylmī, a relation of Shahr b. Bāzān, killed Aswad 'Ansī the veiled Prophet. This was a year or two before the Prophet's death. Though Aswad 'Ansī was dead the standard of his revolt was kept flying by his followers and violence broke out on the death of Prophet Muḥammad.

The other two pretenders were Tulayḥah, a diminutive of Talḥah, and Sajah. Tulayḥah b. Khuwaylid a great warrior who came from the Banū Asad of Najd and had supporters from the Banū Ghāṭfān claimed prophethood and created trouble on the death of the Prophet. The false prophetess, Sajah, daughter of Ḥarīth Tamīmah, hailed from the Banū Yarbū' a clan of the Ḥanzalah, of Central Arabia who had settled in Mesopotamia with the Banū Taghlib. She was Christian by faith and entered into an alliance with the neighbouring Christian chiefs. She kindled the movement in the North of the peninsula among the Bani Tamim tribe on the death of the Prophet and started with her Da'i Ash'ath b. Qays to attack Madīnah. At Banī Tamīm she was joined by her original clan, the Banī Yarbū',

1. *Tā'rikh-i-Ṭabari*, 1849.

under Mālik b. Nuwayrah but was defeated by the other tribes of Banī Tamīm in a series of combats and went to al-Yamāmah to fall upon Musaylimah. But instead they entered into an alliance each confirming the other's claim to Prophethood and also contracted a temporary marriage. The two, however, did not succeed in unifying their followers against Madīnah and Sajah returned after three days' stay with Musaylimah to Mesopotamia without giving battle to the Madinites and her career thus came to an end.

The whole of Arabia except Madīnah and Makkah and a few hamlets here and there rose as hosts against Islām. From all these affected areas, preachers and tax collectors were expelled by the insurgents and many of the faithful were put to death.

Expedition to Syria :—Such was the situation when Abū Bakr took the reins of government in his hand. The very first step that Abū Bakr took as Caliph was the sending of Usāmah whose father Zayd b. Ḥarīṭah had been killed at Muṭah in the Syrian expedition for the expedition orders had been issued by the Prophet himself but delayed due to his illness. Although Ḥarīṭah, the father of Zayd, was a slave, his grandson Usāmah was appointed by the Prophet to command an army in which distinguished stars of the Quraysh, Abū Bakr and 'Umar, were to accompany him. The companions of the Caliph persuaded Abū Bakr to withdraw the order because on the death of the Prophet confusion and chaos had arisen in the whole of the peninsula. Abū Bakr refused to comply with their request on the plea that the movement of the army had been ordered by the Prophet himself.¹ The Caliph, however, asked Usāmah to leave behind 'Umar

1. Suyūṭī, *Tā'rikh al-Khulafā*, p. 71.

for his assistance in establishing peace and order at home, and advised him not to kill the aged, children and women and destroy fields.¹ The Muslim general marched up to Obna (Jabneh) on the Mediterranean coast between Jaffa and Akelon, avenged the death of his father from the Ghassān and attacked the tribe of Quda' and returned triumphant after about a month and a half though not with much material gain. It had a very far reaching moral effect on the external foes and internal rebels.

Campaigns against the Rebels :— After sending the tried men on Syrian expedition, the Caliph adopted the precautionary measures for the defence of Madīnah and mobilized all available man-power in and around Madīnah. 'Alī, Zubayr and Ṭalḥah were put in command of the garrison at Madīnah and the picketing parties. A deputation of the 'Arab Bedouins Bani Abs and Dhubyān living in the North of Madīnah who had been instigated by a brother of the false prophet, Ṭulayḥah, waited on the Caliph. They pleaded for an exemption from the payment of *zakāt* an impost hateful to the Bedouins. 'Umar and a few others realizing the gravity of the situation were in favour of allowing them temporary exemption but Abū Bakr who was firm in his resolution insisted on unconditional surrender from them or fight unto destruction.² Abū Bakr argued that *zakāt* being a compulsory tax on Muslims he was not empowered to relax the rule. Nation-building and national solidarity being the foremost concern of the Caliph he had to refuse bluntly the granting of such concession and war was declared. The rebels gathered at al-Rabādhah and Dhū al-Qassah and proceeded towards

1. Ṭabarī, 1850

2. Baladhurī, p. 94/143 tr., Bukhārī, I, 188.

Madīnah but they proved themselves cowards and fled when the Madinites marched out of the city to give battle. They were pursued as far as Dhū al-Qassah. The Caliph himself placing Usāmah, who had meanwhile returned from the Syrian expedition, in charge of the defence of Madīnah marched at the head of a small army to Rabādhah, three days' journey from Madīnah where the Banū Abs and Dhubyān had gathered and were perpetrating atrocities on those who were still Muslims. After the rebels were defeated they fled to Ṭalḥah scoffingly styled as Ṭulayḥah at al-Buzākḥah. Their lands were confiscated and reserved for the State stud. Abū Bakr's success in defending the city, in the absence of the main army under Usāmah on the Syrian expedition, impressed the Bedouins with the strength of Islām.¹ This had a great moral significance; the Muslims became courageous and the rebels disheartened. The prestige of Madīnah was restored and *zakāt* money began to pour in from several quarters. This was all due to the bold step taken by Abū Bakr.²

Riddah war : Restoring peace in the surrounding lands of Madīnah Ḥaḍrat Abū Bakr thought of curbing the power of the rebels in the distant quarters of Arabia. He collected his men at Dhū al-Qassah dividing his whole army into eleven columns. He sent them out simultaneously to various directions under the command of tried generals each with a banner — Khālīd b. Walīd, addressed by the Prophet as the sword of Allāh, was ordered to fight Ṭulayḥah and Mālīk b. Nuwayrah; 'Ikrimah b. Abū Jahl and Shurahbīl b. Ḥasanah against Musaylimah; Muhājir ibn abī Ummiyah was sent to al-Yaman and Ḥadramawt; al-'Ala to al-Baḥ-

1. Ibn al-Athīr, II, 254 quoted by Muir, *Caliphate*, p. 15n1

2. Bukhārī, I, 188

rayn ; a battalion was posted to guard the Syrian border and another to put down the rising in 'Umān and Mahrah. While Abū Bakr himself directed from the capital of the newly founded Islamic State, Madīnah, the movements of his army. The soldiers were ordered to be moderate in their dealings with the rebels and abstain from causing destruction of properties. He also sent summons to different tribes to repent and submit or to face the consequences.

It took full one year to force the Arabs back to the fold of Islām. But the details of the campaigns are meagre and scanty. Khālīd, the brave soldier of Islām, rash but ready in judgment, defeated Ṭulayḥah b. Khuwaylid the false Prophet of Banū Ghatafān and his ally 'Ayniyah b. Ḥiṣn the chief of the same tribe at the well of Buzākḥah. Ṭulayḥah escaped to Syria and accepted Islām and his follower 'Ayniyah was taken prisoner to Madīnah where he also accepted Islām.¹

The Banū Tayyi' and Banū Asad were subjugated and the offenders were punished and peace was restored in the hills and deserts north of Madīnah. Thereafter Khālīd advanced against Mālīk b. Nuwayrah the Chief of Banī Yarbū' a clan of the Banī Tamīm, who had withheld the payment of *zakāt*. Mālīk b. Nuwayrah was left alone at this critical juncture due to the withdrawal of Sajah the false prophetess and sooth-sayer to Buṣra (Syria) where she died later,² and was defeated and taken prisoner. Along with some others he was killed at the order of Khālīd. The Muslim General married the widow of Ibn Nuwayrah. His brother Mutammim a poet complained to Abū Bakr against the atrocities perpetrated by Khālīd and claimed bloodwit for his life.

1. *Tā'riḫ-i-Ya'qūbi*, II, 145.

2. *Ibid.* II, 147.

Khālīd was tried at Madīnah, rebuked and acquitted.¹ Abū Bakr released the prisoners and having no equally competent general commissioned Khālīd against Musaylimah.

‘Ikrimah b. Abū Jahl being rash in his action was discomfitted badly by Musaylimah, who had amassed an army 40,000 strong from the Banū Bakr and Banū Ḥanīfah clans around him, and after achieving an initial victory pressed forward as far as the northern boundary of al-Yamāmah. Khālīd subjugated the banū Tamim and marched from his camp at al-Biṭāḥ with a comparatively smaller force. A most violent battle ever waged in Arabia ensued at Aqrah. After several reprisals the Muslims defeated Musaylimah who was killed in the Garden of Death as it is traditionally called by Wahshī the same African slave of Jubayr b. Muṭ‘im who had secured his freedom after killing Ḥamzah at Uḥud.² Maja‘ah the Chief of Banū Ḥanīfah and commander of Musaylimah saved the followers of Musaylimah by cleverly concluding peace and offering his daughter’s hand to Khālīd. This greatly aggrieved Abū Bakr who rebuked Khālīd.³

About 700 Muslims including 360 Muhājirs and ninety-three companions of the Prophet and many ḥuffāẓ (memorizers of the Holy Qur’an) were killed in this battle. The killing of ḥuffāẓ led Abū Bakr on the advice of ‘Umar to order for the compilation of the Qur’an under the supervision of Prophet’s scribe Zayd b. Thābit.⁴ The Banū Ḥanīfah submitted after a loss of 1,200 men. This defeat determined the fate not only of Central Arabia but also of

1. *Tā’rīkh-i-Ya‘qūbī*, II, 149.

2. Cf. *Ibn Ishāq*, 564/375 566/377,

3. *Ya‘qūbī*, II, 147-8.

4. *Bukhārī*, II, 45.

Arabia and 'Arabs in general. All serious opposition in Arabia was smashed for good.

While Khālīd pursued his military campaign from the north to the centre other battalions of the Muslim forces were busy in subduing the petty rulers in other parts of Arabia al-Baḥrayn, 'Umān, Ḥaḍramawt, al-Yaman. About the time the Prophet died, the Muslim Governor Mundhir, of the Baḥrayn the coastal region along the Persian Gulf, also died and the Bedouins renounced Islām, rose in rebellion under the leadership of Nu'mān and raised a descendant of the Hirite dynasty to the throne at Ḥajar the capital of al-Baḥrayn and sought Persian help against the Banī 'Abd al-Qays who clung fast to Islām. The Muslim force under 'Alā ibn al-Ḥaḍramī reached al-Baḥrayn in time and joined by Muthannah a chief of Banū Bakr clan and the Shayban Bedouins defeated the combined forces of the Persians and the Bedouins and forced the latter to take refuge in the island of Darin. Their Prince was taken captive along with many others and Muthannā marched along the Persian Gulf to the delta of Euphrates with the victorious banner of Islām as will be narrated later.

Laqit ibn Malik also claimed prophethood in 'Umān inhabited mostly by fishermen and pirates and collected a large army at Daba the capital of 'Umān and the mart of Indian merchants. 'Amr the prince of the Julandah dynasty who had accepted Islām faced difficulties in collecting taxes from the Bedouins. 'Ikrimah helped the prince and crushed the rising of the false prophet and the Bedouins. Leaving Hudhayfah b. Muḥaṣṣin as the Governor of 'Umān, 'Ikrimah turned from the easternmost corner to the south, marched on Mahrah and established peace there. A rich booty including 2,000 Bactrian camels fell into the hands of 'Ikrimah.

Meanwhile 'Ikrimah received directives to march on Ḥaḍramawt and Yaman where troubles had arisen on the question of the payment of *zakāt*. A false prophet among the Aws tribe of Najrān appeared in the name of Ayhabah Dhu'l Ḥimar (the Donkey Rider) drove the San'a and exerted influence over whole of Yaman while Prophet Muḥammad was ill. He was, however, assassinated by a Persian a day before Muhammad died. His chief supporter Qays continued the rebellion.

Ash'ath b. Qays the Chief of Banū Kindah of Ḥaḍramawt renounced Islām and stopped payment of *zakāt* to Ziyād b. Labid. The Muslim force under Ziyād and Muhājir was defeated. Reinforcements under 'Ikrimah pressed on Ḥaḍramawt and Yaman. Ash'ath was taken prisoner and was brought to Madīnah where he accepted Islām. Peace was restored in Ḥaḍramawt towards the close of 11 H. (Spring 633).¹

Meanwhile peace was also established in Yaman the scene of the activities of Aswad 'Ansī and in the Tihāmah, the long strip of low land on the shore of the Red Sea. Aswad 'Ansī was killed by Qays b. Makshuh and Fīrūz Daylmi while he was drunk.²

Thus within a year peace was restored, and almost the whole of Arabia returned to the fold of Islām. The tribes, which had revolted, stopped payment of *zakāt* and become apostates, were debarred from military service for a considerable period during the regime of Abū Bakr. They were enrolled in the army again only when the threat of the Persians was reported by Muthannā from Mesopotamia.

War on the Persian Border in 'Irāq :—After establishing peace

1. *Tā'rikh-i-Ṭabarī*, 1863

2. *Ibid.*, 1863

and order in the Peninsula Abū Bakr was free to turn his attention towards the frontiers—Chaldea (Mesopotamia) and Syria in 12H(633-4). It may be recollected that the Persians had exhausted their power by fighting against the eastern Romans for hegemony for centuries in the Near East and that they had helped the rebels in the Baḥrayn. This aggressive attitude of the Persians invited the attention of the Caliph first. There was another incident on the Persian border which provoked hostilities. The false prophetess Sajah, daughter of Khuwaylid, at the head of the Banū Taghlib the supporters of the Persians marched on Yamāmah in Central Arabia.

Another claimant of prophethood Ṭulayḥa by name raised his standard of revolt in Najd under the influence of the Byzantines. Thus the Chosroes and the Caesar provoked hostilities with the Muslims. The war lingered because the Muslims were in collision with the two great powers of the East and the West on the Persian and Syrian borders respectively.

Abū Bakr instead of attacking Syria or Persia and overrunning Chaldea contented himself in guarding the Persian and Syrian frontiers by confining his expedition to the 'Arab lands west of the Euphrates inhabited by the 'Arab tribes and posting strong garrisons at strategic points on the two fronts. This the Caliph did in self defence but not with aggressive motive as has been interpreted by certain writers. The Persian and Byzantine Empires, though decaying, were formidable and much stronger than the newly born 'Arab State. It was, therefore, inconceivable for the Arabs to think of attacking Persia or Syria. But the fomentation of troubles by the Persians on the frontier which was, however, not well fortified and was open to the enemies attack naturally focussed the attention of the Muslims if

they were to exist. This made Abū Bakr divert his troops towards eastern front.

It was thus the fortification of the frontiers and curbing of the power of the border tribes that brought the Muslims into collision with the two great neighbouring powers. Muir observes, "No sooner was apostasy put down, first in Chaldea (Mesopotamia) and then in Syria, collision with wild border tribes kindled the fire of foreign war."¹ He continues, "Chaldea and southern Syria belong properly to Arabia. The tribes inhabiting this region, partly heathen but chiefly Christian, formed an integral part of the 'Arab race and as such fell within the orbit of the New Dispensation. When, however, these came into collision with the Muslim columns on the frontier, they were supported by their respective sovereigns—the western by the Kaiser, and the eastern by the Chosroes. Thus the struggle widened, and Islām was brought presently face to face in mortal conflict with the two great powers of the East and of the West."²

From the accounts of general revolts in Arabia after the demise of the Prophet it appears that this had been inspired and fomented by Persian and Byzantine machinations and when the followers of Islām adopted precautionary measures to safeguard the Muslim interest in the frontiers, the Persian and Byzantine empires prepared to crush the newly set up Muslim State. The Persians had old hostility with the Arabs and on several occasions they had occupied 'Arab territories as far as Yaman and Hijāz. In the battle of Dhī Qar the Persians met for the first time reverses at the hand of the Arabs.³ It was this hostility which led Parwīz, the Emperor of Irān, in 6 H. to tear Prophet's letter asking

1. *The Caliphate*, p. 42.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 46.

3. *'Iqd al-Farīd*, III, 81.

him to accept Islām into pieces and say, "My slave addresses me thus."¹ By the time the Prophet died Persia had lost its glorious days, and *Puran Dukht*, a woman, was ruling over the country on behalf of the minor King Yazdagird.

From the *Baḥrayn Muthannā*, the chief of the *Shaybān* Bedouins, and Suwayd 'Ajlī marched on *Ḥurrah* and *Ubullah* towards the Persian Gulf in the north to clear that territory of the 'Arab rebels and their Persian allies. Some of the tribes who were smarting under the constant high-handedness of the Persians joined *Muthannā* and his army which had swelled to 8,000 strong was, however, too insignificant to face the heathen hosts assisted by the Persian ruler.²

Khālīd had meanwhile suppressed the revolt of *Musaylima*, and was free to reinforce *Muthannā*. Anticipating the impending danger *Abū Bakr* ordered *Khālīd* to take over the command of the joint army and subdue *Chaldea*. *Khālīd*, therefore, proceeded to *Ubullah* an ancient city near modern *Baṣrah* with 10,000 soldiers. While *Khālīd* was busy in suppressing their revolts he came into contact for the first time with the Persians at *Ḥafīr*, fifty miles to the south of *Ubullah*, the frontier outpost of the Persian Empire. A furious battle ensued in which the Persians were routed and their commander *Hurmuz* was killed. It became known as *Dhāt al-Salāsīl* (the Mistress of the Chains) because the Persian soldiers not being united used chains to fasten themselves together. In *Ṣafar* 12H/April 633 *Khālīd* defeated *Bahman*, a veteran general, at *al-Walaja*. Another pitched battle with the Persians was successfully fought at *Ulbays* the ancient *Valogeses*. A great carnage of the garrison took place at *Ulbays* and it became known

1. *Ṭabarī*, 1572.

2. *The Caliphate*, p. 47

as the 'River of Blood.' Khālīd then marched along the western coast of the Euphrates and subjugated all the 'Arab tribes paying tributes to the Persians. He sent the news of his achievement with one-fifth of the booty to Abū Bakr who was pleased with his progress on the Persian border.

The 'Arab Christian State of al-Ḥīrah¹ a tributary of Persia also fell and paid a tribute of 60,000 dirhams² which was termed as *jizyah* for the first time in the history of Islām. The Hirites besides paying the tribute offered also substantial presents. The Caliph accepted them but deducted their value from the amount of *jizyah* and posted his soldiers to protect the city from the Persian attack. This was the first principality lying outside the Peninsula of Arabia which accepted her suzerainty. Khālīd went on proceeding northward from Ḥīrah until he reached al-'Anbar some eighty miles above Babylon on the bank of the Euphrates and then marched on Sajah's headquarter, 'Ayn al-Tamr, the Spring of the Date palm, a fortified place in the desert north-west of al-Kūfah, defeated the joint force of the 'Arab tribes and Persians and subjugated the Banū Taghlīb, the mischief mongers. They were taxed like the Banū Qurayzah. Thus the whole of the 'Arab lands west of the Euphrates which were under the Persians fell into the hands of the Muslims. The other tribes who professed Christianity also paid annual tribute like the Hirites, and were guaranteed protection of life and property, and they bound themselves to supply secretly information about rebellion and subversive activities. Garrisons were posted here and there in the country extending from the west of the

1. The town of Ḥīrah was near the modern town of al-Kūfah. It was the border outpost of the Lakhmids against the Bedouins.

2. *Ta'rikh-i-Ya'qūbī*, II, 47—the Hirites paid 70,000 dirhams.

Euphrates to the lower Delta. Ḥīrah was fixed as the first Muslim capital outside Arabia under al-Qa‘qa’ and the *fallāḥīn* (cultivators) were granted the right of their soil on payment of usual land tax.

War on the Syrian Border :- While Khālīd was still busy on the north-eastern front the attention of the Caliph was drawn to the Syrian front in the north where hostilities had started from Prophet’s time (8H./629-30). After Usāmah’s return from the Syrian front, and while Abū Bakr was engaged in Riddah war, the Byzantines incited a Bedouin tribe to rise against Muslims and themselves with a desire to exploit the situation made preparations for an attack on Madīnah. Abū Bakr, therefore, had to declare war against the Byzantines in 13H/634, and he summoned the people of Makkah, al-Ṭā‘if, al Yaman, Najd and al-Ḥijāz to a holy war ‘arousing their desire in it and in the booty to be got from the Greeks.’¹ Three detachments of about 3,000 men each were sent under ‘Amr ibn al-‘Āṣ, Yazīd ibn Abū Sufyān² and Shurahbīl b Ḥasanah³ to operate in southern and south—eastern Syria with the instruction that in case of joint action the army would be commanded by ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ. On the way to Syria their forces were augmented by new recruits.

Yazīd contacted Sergius, the patrician of Palestine, near Caesarea (Qaysariyah) south of the Dead Sea, and worsted him in the battle at Dathin on his way back to Ghazzah on the 4th February, 634. Heraclius whose ancestors lived

1. Balādhuri, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, p. 107/165 tr.

2. Yazīd was accompanied by his brother Mu‘āwiyah as a standard bearer.

3. Cf. al-Baṣrī, *Futūḥ al-Shām*, edit by W. N. Luis, Calcutta, 1853, pp. 8-11, 40-2.

at Edessa (al-Ruha) did not take 'Arab invasion seriously more than normal nomad inroads on the frontiers and was more concerned with the work of consolidation and settling of the eastern frontier towns under the treaty with Persia after a long drawn war of six years and plans for the religious Union of Christendom. He hastened from Emesa (Hims) and sent his brother Theodorus in command of a fresh army to the south.

Meanwhile Khālīd b. al-Walīd who was busy on the north-east 'Arab-Persian border was ordered to proceed to Syria to reinforce the Muslims fighting there.¹ Khālīd leaving Muthannā with half of his army numbering about 10,000 soldiers marched to Syria through the perilous desert and reached Buṣrā (Eskī Shām or Old Damascus) within eighteen days breaking the record of the desert journey. Khālīd joined the Muslim force there and marched to reinforce 'Iyād at Duma and to take over the command. Duma was stormed and the joint army of the Banū Ghassān Chief, Jabala, of Buṣrā, Okeidir and al-Judī, chiefs of Duma, were defeated in Rajab (September 633). Later Khālīd b. Walīd routed a Byzantine column and receiving reinforcements under 'Ikrimah and al-Walīd b. 'Uqbah met the Romans but was worsted at Marj al-Suffār.² A reinforcement under Abū 'Ubaydah b. al-Jarrāḥ was also sent from Madīnah through the famous pilgrim route (the old transport route between Madīnah and Damascus), Khālīd b. Walīd had at his disposal 40,000 soldiers while Heraclius the Roman Emperor had six times more in number, 240,000, but disheartened Greeks. Due to the long war with Persia, the economy of the Byzantines had suffered greatly. Heraclius

1. *Futūḥ al-Buldān* of Balādhurī, 116.

2. Cf. Seif a 8th century authority quoted by Muir, p. 63.

therefore withdrew the usual allowance paid to the 'Arab tribes in the border lands and, as a consequence, discontentment prevailed in the border areas. Heraclius tried for the union of Christians by compromise but this was undone by Cyrus who persecuted the Syrian and Coptic Christians for their heretical deeds and thus smoothed the way for the success and expansion of Islām. A furious battle ensued at Ajnadayn between Bayt Jibrin and Ramlah in Palestine on the 28th Jumādā al-Awwal (30th July 634).¹ Being routed Theodorus fled to Emesa (Hims) and Heraclius himself escaped to Anṭākīyah (Antioch). Khālīd won the battle but after a sacrifice of 3,000 Muslims and marched on straight to Damascus. On the way he fought another encounter at Faḥl (the Greek Pella) on the western slopes of the Transjordan where remnants of the Byzantines had gathered to check the Muslim advance in January 635 and laid siege to Damascus but meanwhile Abū Bakr died and 'Umar succeeded.

Death :—Abū Bakr received the news of the victory at Ajnadayn while he was seriously ill. He offered the presidency of public prayer to 'Umar and consulted 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf, 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, Sa'īd ibn Zayd, Usayd b. Huzayr and other Muhājirs and Anṣārs about his successor. All unanimously chose 'Umar; the dying Caliph, therefore, nominated 'Umar in writing to succeed him and advised 'Umar on several aspects of administration which in the long run paved the way for his success.² Abū Bakr breathed his last on Tuesday, 22nd Jumādā al-Ākhir, 13 H./ 23rd August, 634 at the age of 63 years after a period

1. *Tā'riḫ-i-Ya'qubi*, II, 151

2. *Ṭabaqāt ibn Sa'd*, Part II, Vol. III, p. 42.

of over two years *Khilāfat*. He was buried by the side of the Prophet. He had three sons and three daughters 'Abd Allah, 'Abd al-Raḥmān and Muḥammad and Āsmā, 'Ā'ishāh and Umm Kulthūm from four wives.

Character and Achievements :—Abū Bakr though wealthy lived a simple life and made great sacrifices for Islām. He tried to earn his own bread even after accepting the *Khilāfat* by carrying on trade but he was reminded of his responsibility of the office and advised by his companions including 'Umar to give up business and accept an annual subsistence allowance¹ of 2,500 dirhams which were later on raised to 6,000 from the State treasury started by him in the second year of his *Khilāfat*. He had been given lands in the *Khaybar* and he had acquired some lands in the suburb of Madīnah and the Baḥrayn.²

He was pious and generous and spent his last *fals* (copper coin) in the cause of Islām. He had 4000 dirhams at the time of his conversion to Islām. He borrowed 6,000 dīnārs from the treasury for spending in the way of God and the repayment was made after his death by selling his garden.³ When he died he had two she-camels and a slave girl which were returned to the public treasury and an old sheet which was washed and used in covering his corpse.

The Caliph distributed instantly whatever revenue and tributes came. In the first year he gave ten dirhams to all men and women irrespective of positions and in the second year with the increase in income their pensions were doubled. On his death there was found only one dirham

1. *Ṭabaqāt ibn Sa'd*, Part II, Vol. III, p. 42.

2. *Ibid.*, 138

3. *Ibid.*, 123, 137

in the treasury out of 100,000 dīnārs received during his time.¹

He was wise, sagacious and sincere.² By nature mild, yet he was firm and resolute in action. He reproached Khālīd when he concluded treaty with and married the daughter of Maja'ah Ḥanafī the general of false prophet Musaylamah instead of punishing him.³ Khālīd was also reprimanded when he killed Mālīk b. Nuwayrah for withholding the payment of *zakāt*, though admonition would have been enough.⁴

In the last year of his reign he could not find time to perform pilgrimage and to enquire from the assemblage there if they had any complaint, which he listened calmly, brought the culprits to book and redressed the wrongs done to the sufferers. The greater period of his two years rule was spent in establishing peace and planning expeditions against internal enemies and external foes and very little time was left to him for introducing administrative reforms and attending public works. Still he instituted certain basic principles of administration on which strong structure of Umar's administration was later built.⁵ Tax collectors and officials appointed by the Prophet in distant places were retained.⁶ 'Umar was appointed qādī, 'Uthmān and Zayd b. Thābit, secretaries and Abū 'Ubaydah, treasurer.⁷ Army was reorganised and Khālīd was appointed commander-in-chief.⁸ A considerable part of the revenue

1. *Ṭabaqāt* ibn Sa'd, 151.

2. Muir, *the Caliphate*, p. 81

3. Ya'qūbī, II, 148.

4. *Ibid.*, II, 149

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ṭabaqāt ibn Sa'd*, Part II, Vol. II, p. 109

7. Tabarī, 2135

8. *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, 115.

was spent in purchasing arms. 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd was deputed to watch the conduct of the populace and punishment for drinking wine was fixed forty whips.¹ All these he did in consultation with his chief counsellors whom he never allowed to depart from him. On the occasions of sending expeditions to Syria under Usāmah and fighting against those who withheld the payment of *zakāt* when he consulted them, 'Umar opposed him and 'Alī favoured him.²

Abū Bakr's morals were lofty and serene and his faith unshakeable, the qualities of head and heart which earned him a place second only to Muḥammad the prophet of Islām. It was the strength of his character which led him to deposit his own property and that of the Prophet in the State banquet and made him reject the request of Fāṭimah about the Fadak the Prophet's property (crown land) in Khaybar, to be allowed to be inherited by his descendants.

Abū Bakr as the right hand man of the Prophet made many sacrifices in the consolidation of the Muslim State and knew how to protect it in the hour of peril. It was Abū Bakr who actually revived Islām after the death of the Prophet. He maintained the unity of Islām by suppressing the rebels and forcing them to pay *zakāt*. He subjugated the tribes living on the eastern and northern frontiers under the Persians and the Byzantines and collected tributes from them and checked the aggressive advance of the Persians and the Byzantines on the two fronts. The movement of the army was, however, controlled with special instructions from the Caliph to fight only those who resisted,

1. Hājī Mu'īn al-Dīn, *Khulafā'-i-Rāshidīn*, p. 58.

2. Ya'qūbī, II, 149.

and not to harm the old, infirm, children, women and hermits and further not to destroy habitations and cultivations. The soldiers were further enjoined to fulfil the terms of treaty and give all the rights and privileges enjoyed by Muslim subjects to those who surrendered.¹

The period of Abū Bakr is known for the compilation of the Holy Qur'an, the arrangement for which has been suggested by the Prophet himself, and the verses were named which were preserved in the memory and in writing on different materials (bones, leather, pieces of stones, branches of date palm) scattered. But the final shape could not be given to it by the Prophet because the revelations continued until his death and it was not known where, in what chapter and context a fresh piece was to be inserted. It was the practice of the Prophet that when a fresh verse was revealed, he directed its commitments to both writing and memory and its insertion in the proper chapter and context. In the battle of Yamāmah when a large number of *ḥuffāẓ* who had committed the Qur'an to memory were killed, 'Umar reminded Abū Bakr of the apprehending danger and advised him to make arrangement for the compilation of the Holy Book. Zayd ibn Thābit the Prophet's secretary, who had taken down most of the Madinite *sūrahs*, was entrusted with this important task. He, therefore, collected all the pieces and *ṣaḥīfahs* and put them into one volume²

1. Cf. *Tā'rikh-i-Khulafā*, 96

2. *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, IX, p. 10. After Abū Bakr this copy passed to 'Umar who gave it to his daughter and Prophet's wife Ḥaṣṣah. During the time of the third Caliph Ḥaḍrat 'Uṭmān several authentic copies were again made from Abū Bakr's copy preserved with Ḥaḍrat Ḥaṣṣah and circulated throughout the Empire replacing several unauthentic and interpolated copies which

Abū Bakr rendered justice amicably and sought the counsel of his companions. Preference was given to the explicit ruling if found in the Qur'an or Ḥadīth. Failing to find light from either of the two, recourse was finally made to the counsel and the line of action favoured by the majority was adopted. 'Umar was his chief counsellor and Zayd, 'Uthmān and 'Alī often worked as his secretaries. He, however, never cared for contrary popular opinion on any matter if a ruling on it was found in the Qur'an or Ḥadīth. He, therefore, collected *zakāt* even in the time of peril from those who withheld its payment and distributed it equally among all, slaves and freed, women and men, because this was the command of God. There was no fixed rate of *jizyah* or tax. Out of 7,000 people of Ḥīrah only 6,000 were required to pay ten dirhams each. The helpless and old *dhimmi*s were not only exempt from the payment of *jizyah* but they were also paid pensions from the treasury.¹ Usāmah was sent on the Syrian expedition even when his services were required at home because such an arrangement had been made by the Prophet himself. He was a member of the Muslim society, looking upon himself as a commoner, and worked as custodian of the public treasury drawing his personal allowance from it fixed by others. A slave girl and two she-camels that he had of the *Bayt al-Māl* were returned to it after his death.² Another proof of his democratical attitude and

have grown due to the difference in recitations by non-Arab Muslims. On Ḥafṣah's death this copy passed to 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar who gave it to Marwān, the Governor of Madīnah. The latter is said to have destroyed it.

1. *Kitāb al-Kharāj*, p. 72

2. *Ṭabaqāt* ibn Sa'd, part I, Vol. III, p. 136.

high mindedness was that, in spite of having sons, capable of succeeding him in office he nominated, in consultation with his companions, 'Umar, the worthiest of all the members of Brotherhood, to succeed him.

Section II

'UMAR AL-FĀRŪQ
(634-644 A. C.)

Early Life : Abū Ḥaṣṣ was 'Umar's surname and Fārūq his title. His father was Khaṭṭāb and mother, Khantamah daughter of Hishām b. Mughīrah. 'Umar's ancestor 'Adiy whose brother Marrah was the ancestor of Prophet Muḥammad enjoyed the powers of arbitration (*Thālith* or *Munāfirah*) among the Quraysh and often entrusted with the task of emissary.¹ Both these offices had become hereditary in the 'Adiy clan. 'Umar's grandfather Nufayl maintained the ancestral traditions with great ability. 'Umar's maternal grandfather Hisham b. Mughīrah was equally respectable. He was in charge of the military organization of the Quraysh when they went to fight against any tribe.² 'Umar's cousin, Zayd grandson of Nufayl, was one of the Ḥanīfs who believed in the Unity of God and had given up idolatry and induced his countrymen to accept the faith of Ibrāhīm

1. Jahiz, *al-Bayān wal-Tābi'yīn*, Egypt, pp. 117, 122; *Aṣābah*, II, 158.

2. *'Iqd al-Farīd*, Chapter on the qualities of the Arabs.

but he was vehemently opposed by his own uncle Khaṭṭāb father of 'Umar.

'Umar was born forty years before the *Hijrah*, in other words he was junior to Prophet Muḥammad by thirteen years. He received education from his father and acquired skill in genealogy¹ which befitted him to pronounce judgments in cases of *Munāfirah* and to undertake emissary. 'Arab historians are all unanimous in asserting that 'Umar possessing exceptional qualifications represented the Quraysh on tribal basis before his conversion to Islām. He was a great orator as well as a good wrestler. At 'Ukkāz fair he participated in wrestling matches and won acclaim. 'Umar was an excellent poet and could recite from memory the selected verses of all the famous poets. According to Balādhurī he was one of the seventeen learned persons of the Quraysh at the advent of the Prophet of Islām.²

When 'Umar attained majority he was entrusted with the task of grazing camels, the favourite national calling of the 'Arabs, in Dajnān but business being his main occupation, he travelled to distant places acquiring knowledge and experience. As recorded by Mas'ūdī, he travelled to many places in Syria and Persia and visited distinguished princes and personalities which earned him experience and broadened his outlook.³

Before his conversion to Islām he held a position of prestige and honour among the Quraysh. As such he tried to harm the Prophet and his followers in all possible

1. *'Iqd al-Farīd*, quoted in *'Umar the Great* by Shiblī, Vol. I, p. 29

2. *Furūḥ al-Buldān*, 477.

3. Cf. *Murūj al-Dhahab* which refers to his other two works *Akhbār al-Zamān* and *Kitāb al-Awsaṭ* in this connection.

ways. At the time Prophet Muḥammad declared his mission, 'Umar was twenty-seven years old. Lābnah, a slave girl belonging to his household, on embracing Islām, was tortured by him harshly. He belaboured all Muslims whom he could lay his hands. But those who accepted Islām were so firm in their faith that 'Umar's torture could not estrange a single one of them from Islām. 'Umar, therefore, was provoked to revile Muḥammad himself. It so happened that one day, sword in hand, he set out to slay the Prophet and on the way met one Nu'aym b. 'Abd Allāh who informed him about the conversion of 'Umar's own sister Fāṭimah and brother-in-law to Islām. 'Umar was enraged and went straight to his sister and heard Khubbāb reciting and explaining a verse of the *sūrah Tāhā* or *sūrah Ḥād*. He struck and wounded his sister, Fāṭimah, when she tried to shield her husband from his attack. In this moment of peril, her loud recital of the *Kalimah* impressed 'Umar, he demanded to be shown the *sūrah* which was being explained by Khubbāb. This was produced and 'Umar reading it was greatly impressed and expressing his desire to accept Islām he went straight to Arqam's house at the foot of Mount Ṣafah where the Prophet was residing and he accepted Islām.¹

'Umar's acceptance of Islām in the month of *Dhu'l hijjah*, sixth year of Muḥammad's Prophethood² while he was thirty-three years old was a landmark in the history of Islām. The new convert urged the Holy Prophet to preach

1. This story of 'Umar's conversion to Islām is based on weak evidences. Cf. *Mustadrik Hakim*, IV, 59; *Musnad Ibn Ḥanbal*, *Khulafā'-i-Rāshidīn*, pp. 95-99.
2. 'Umar accepted Islām in the 7th year of Muḥammad's Prophethood. Cf. *Mu'in al-Dīn*, *Khulafā'-i-Rāshidīn*, pp. 101-103.

Islām openly and say prayers in the House of Ka'bah itself.¹ 'Āṣ b. Wāṣil took 'Umar under his protection but 'Umar did not accept the offer and preferred to be tortured which earned him the title of Fārūq from the Prophet and established Islām in the teeth of Makkah opposition.

At the time of the migration to Madīnah, Muslims left Makkah secretly in batches but 'Umar marched out of the city openly.² Leading a group of twenty men including his brother, reached Qubā' also known as 'Awālīa suburb of Madīnah about two months before the Prophet himself came. 'Umar stayed there in the house of Rafī'ah b. 'Abd al-Mundhir. His brother in faith was 'Utbah b. Malik, the Chief of the Banū Salīm. Like many other Muhājirs, 'Umar continued to live at Quba' and each of the two brothers in faith visited the Prophet on alternate days. It was at the suggestion of 'Umar, which was upheld by the Divine revelation, that *adhān* was adopted for the call to prayer and Ḥadrat Bilāl the Abyssinian slave was appointed the first *Mu'adhḍhīn*.

'Umar actively helped Muḥammad in all the battles he had to wage against the Makkans and the Jews. Without caring for his relatives in the battle of Badr 'Umar killed his own maternal uncle 'Āṣ b. Hishām b. Mughīrah.³ In the battle of Uhud, however, 'Umar stopped fighting when a rumour arose that the Prophet was killed and renewed fighting only when he was assured that the Prophet was alive and turned back the advancing Quraysh under Khālīd.⁴ In the battle of the Klandaq he guarded the ditch

1. Ibn Sa'd, III, 193.

2. Zaynī, I, 371.

3. Ibn Jarīr, p. 509.

4. Ibn Hishām, *Siṭar*, p. 567; Ṭabarī, p. 1411.

with others and one day he was so busy in repelling the Makkan onslaught that he could not perform the afternoon prayer. In recognition of this service a mosque was constructed at this place after his name which is still extant. He was not happy with the terms of the armistice of Ḥudaybiyah and strongly protested but was calmed by the Holy Prophet. On the conquest of Makkah Prophet Muḥammad took ba'yt from the Makkans at Ṣafāh and at his order 'Umar took the same from the women. 'Umar contributed half of his life's savings towards the war fund raised for the Tabūk expedition and he set apart Thammāgh, his share in the lands of Khaybar, for charitable purposes. This was the first endowment made in the history of Islām.¹

After the death of the Prophet when the Anṣār assembled at the Thaqīfah Banī Sā'idah to elect their Chief, 'Umar taking Abū Bakr along with himself rushed to the spot and saved the situation by formally swearing allegiance to Abū Bakr and nipping the sedition in the bud. He worked as the right hand man of the Caliph who asked Usāmah to leave him behind when he marched on the Syrian expedition. Abū Bakr nominated him as his successor after consulting his Chief companions and advisers in Jumādī al-Thānī 13 H. (August 634). When 'Uḥmān was consulted by Abū Bakr, he remarked that 'Umar's innerself was better than his exterior and he was unequal among them.²

Conquest of Persia : During Abū Bakr's Khilāfat 'Irāq was attacked in 12 A. H. and Syria a year later but he died before the final conquest of the neighbouring countries. 'Umar pursued the frontier policy of Abū Bakr and con-

1. Shibli, *'Umar the Great*, I, p. 72

2. *Cf. Ibid.*, p. 94

tinued the defensive war against the Persian and Syrian rulers. Khālīd would have completed the conquest of 'Irāq had not the Syrian horizon been thickened with an ominous cloud. After departure of Khālīd for Syria in Rabi' al-Thānī 13 H/ June 634¹ Muthannā b. Hārithah, the Chief of the Banū Shaybān, had taken the command of the Muslim force, 10,000 in number, left behind in Mesopotamia. The Arabian 'Irāq, the land west of the Euphrates, had been conquered but the Persian 'Irāq was still in the hands of the Persians. Hurmuz, the Persian General, at the order of the new Persian Prince, marched with his force of 10,000 persons intending to crush the Muslims and drive them out of 'Irāq al-'Arab. Learning of this, Muthannā, instead of allowing the Persians to cross the river and fall upon them, himself crossed the river and fell upon the Persians *albeit* with a weaker and smaller force. The Persians suppressed and overawed by the boldness of the Muslims, broke the line of the elephants of their army which were encamped at the mounds of Babylon some fifty miles from the Persian capital al-Madā'in. Thus after defeating Hurmuz in 13 H/ 634 A. C., Muthannā again came back to the original encampment at Hīrah on the western bank of the Euphrates about three miles from Kufah. Fearing a fresh and more serious attack Muthannā sent for reinforcement and requested permission to enrol the 'Arab tribesmen of the frontier. But the reply being delayed, he himself went to Madīnah. Meanwhile Abū Bakr had died and was succeeded by 'Umar and the 'Arab tribesmen had come in large number to pay homage to 'Umar. A new force of volunteers was raised from them and the Thaqafī

1. Balādhū'ī, p. 250

chief, Abū 'Ubaydah al-Thaqafī, was put in chief command of the army consisting of even some companions of the Prophet although he had not the privilege of being a companion of Prophet Muḥammad.

Meanwhile the Persians settled their domestic dissensions and Purān Dukht the guardian of Yazdagird appointed Rustam son of Khurāsān's Governor, Farrukh-zād, the minister of war. Rustam collected a large force and stirred up the 'Arab tribes of the borders against the Muslims. They rose in revolt in the district of the Euphrates and drove out the Muslims from their conquered portions of 'Irāq. Muthannā retreated and waited for Abū 'Ubaydah, the Chief of the Thaqīf tribe. On whose arrival two pitched battles were fought one on each side of the river in both of which the Persian divisions were discomfited. Coming to know of the disaster which had befallen his army Purān Dukht sent two detachments under Jabān and Narsī to reinforce Rustam. Jabān was defeated at Namāriq and Narsī received a set back at Saqāṭiyah. Rustam sent Mardān Shāh at the head of 4,000 troops to face the Arabs at Quss al-Natif near Ḥīrah on the eastern bank of the Euphrates while Abū 'Ubaydah and Muthannā at the head of 9,000 soldiers, despite the oppositions of many Muslim soldiers, chose to cross the Euphrates by the bridge of boats near al-Ḥīrah because the western bank of the river was hilly and rough. The new Persian general reorganised his army and lay encamped. But this time the newly raised Muslim army could not stand against the Persians and was routed by the elephants of the enemies. The bridge of ships was disrupted and in the attempt to flee many were drowned and Abū 'Ubaydah was killed and Muthannā retreated with only 3,000 men. The battle which was

fought on Saturday, the 27th Ramaḍān 13 H./26th November 634 A. C. came to be known as the Battle of *Jisr* (Bridge).¹ But because of the internal politics the Persians could not exploit their success.

On learning of the humiliation of the Muslim force on the Persian border, 'Umar raised an army of volunteers. The defeat of the 'Arabs on the Persian border was an alarming news for the 'Arabs who responded to the call in self defence. Even the chiefs of the Christian 'Arab tribes Namard and Taghlib with a force of thousand men came to Madīnah to make contributions towards the national army raised to save the independence and prestige of the 'Arabs. Ultimately fairly a large army was sent under Jarīr b. 'Abd Allāh al-Bijlī to reinforce Muḥannā who meanwhile had also raised a contingent.

After defeating Abū 'Ubaydah, Rahman had proceeded to al-Madā'in, the capital of Persia, situated on the two banks of the Tigris about fifty miles from the battle field of Jisr and fifteen miles from modern Baghḍād to put down an insurrection there. A selected force of 12,000 under another Persian General, Mihrān b. Mahrubah, crossed the Euphrates and gave battle to the Muslims at Buwayb but Mihrān was defeated and together with a large number of men was killed in October, 635. This had remarkable moral effects. It raised the moral of the 'Arabs and completely demoralised the Persians. Muḥannā said that in the pre-Islamic days ten Arabs were equal to one Persian soldier but now an 'Arab was sufficient to worst one hundred Persians. This battle enabled the 'Arabs to overrun the whole of 'Irāq al-'Arab.

1. Balḡhūrī, *Futūḥ al-Bulḍān*, 252/404a

The Persians ended their resumed dispute by dethroning the Princess Purān Dukht and raising Yazdagird, a boy of sixteen years, to the throne in 632. The coronation of the Prince infused a new spirit in the Persian soldiers. Forts and military outposts were fortified. The conquered Muslim districts broke in revolt and Muthannā was compelled to retreat to a small village Dhiqar by name and awaited the reinforcement. ‘Umar wanted to lead the force himself but his advisers did not give their consents and Sa’d ibn Abī Waqqās, a companion of the Prophet, whose valour and prowess were admitted commonly, was appointed as commander of the army. Sa’d ibn Abī Waqqās marched with a large force of 20,000 volunteers consisting of seventy of those who had fought at Badr and 3000 of those who were present at Hūdaybiyah and encamped at Shazraf at a distance of three days’ journey from Kūfah. Meanwhile Muthannā succumbed to wounds received at Jisr. Sa’d on receiving instruction from ‘Umar with a force of over 30,000 soldiers encamped at Qadisiyah a small town near Hīrah and Samarraḥ to the south of modern Najaf and eighteen and a half miles from Kūfah with the hill in the rear.

As instructed by ‘Umar Sa’d sent Nu’mān b. Maqrān and Muḡhīrah b. Zurārah with twelve others on embassy to the court of Yazdagird at Mīdā’in with the message of Islām but to no purpose. The Muslim envoy was insulted and was sent back with a basket full of earth on ‘Āṣim b. ‘Umar’s head. Besides the Persian Commander-in-chief, Rustam, disdainfully remarked to the Muslim envoy, “I have learned that ye were forced to what ye are doing by nothing but the narrow means of livelihood and by poverty.”¹ Rustam marched from Sabat with about

1. Baladhuri, pp. 256-7/411-2tr.

60,000 soldiers and encamped at Qadisiyah. A furious battle ensued and continued for three days which came to be known as *Yaumu'l Armāth*, *Yaumu'l Aghwāth* and *Yaumu'l 'Ām* in Ramaḍān 14 H/Nov. 635. Sa'd suffering from sciatica could not personally take active part but gave the command to Khālīd b. Aṣfatah and guided the action by sending written instruction from the upper storey of the old royal Palace where he had taken his seat and was guiding the movement of the contingents. This speaks about the progress made in the art of war in the early middle ages.

Meanwhile Muslims received reinforcements, 6,000, from Syria and defeated the Persians. Rustam, the Persian Commander, was killed and a large Sāsānid army fled panick stricken. Because of disunity and jealousy a unified strategic command could not be undertaken by the Persian General, while Arabs fought separately by tribes. In the individual fights that ensued the Persian wall of elephants could not stand against the indomitable courage of Muslims like Qa'qā', Hammāl and Rabi, who cut their trunks and blinded their eyes. The Persian commander-in-chief, fled and fell in a canal and the Persians received set back. The battle continued even at night which came to be known as *laylat al-Ḥarīr*. The persians suffered a great disaster. The casualties on the Muslim side were also considerable but comparatively much less than those of the Persians. This was indeed a decisive battle in the Mesopotamian campaign as that of Yarmūk proved to be in Syria.

The victorious Muslims marched on Ctesiphon and Seleucia (Madā'in) the capital of Persian Empire and the vanquished Persians withdrew to Hulwān at the foot of the Zargos. The rearguards of the defeated Persian force under

the command of Fīrūzān rallied at the tower of Babel in Babylonia. They were driven from there. Shahryār another Persian general was defeated at Kutha¹ and all the fertile low lands of 'Irāq west of the Tigris inhabited by 'Arab tribes from the Babylonian times came into the possession of the Muslims and peasants like the Syrian farmers welcomed the Muslims cordially. Bustam the Chief of Burs came to terms with the Muslims and constructed several bridges for the movement of Muslim army.

In appreciation of the services rendered by the Banū Bajilah in the battle of Qadisiyah and, as promised previously, they were given one-fourth of the Sawād. Two enquiry commissions headed by 'Uthmān b. Ḥunayf and Hudhayfah b. al-Yaman were appointed to study the fiscal situation and the village heads (*dihqāns*) were summoned to report about the old rates of taxation. Accordingly tax registers were prepared and maintained by Muslim officials and the farmers were taxed one dirham and one *qafiz* of wheat per *jarib*² of land.

Sa'd the Muslim General in command receiving approval of his plan for an attack on Ctesiphon (al-Mada'in) the capital itself, some twenty miles south-east of Baghdad, marched on Babel. The Queen-mother came herself to stem the advance of the Muslim army but was defeated and the western part of the capital fell into the hands of the Muslims after a siege of a few months and Mesopotamia proper, the territory between the Euphrates and the Tigris, came to the possession of the Muslims in Jumādī al-Thānī 15 H/June 635. The defeated Persian soldiers concentrated at Jalūla the new military centre.

1. A historical place where Nimrud is said to have imprisoned Abrahāma.
2. 2400 sq. metres

A few months after the Muslims also thought of conquering the eastern part of the old capital partly vacated but there were difficulties in the way, the bridges had been broken and boats had been removed by the Persians while the current of river was swift. Ten detachments each of the sixty chosen horsemen plunged into the surging waters of the river on horseback one after another and crossed the river which was swollen by the spring flood. This sight frightened the Persians who fled pell mell without giving battle. Yazdagird also escaped to the fortress of Hulwān where he had previously sent his ladies. Thus was a mighty empire overthrown by a hitherto insignificant nation whose envoy 'Āṣim b. 'Umar had once been sent back contemptuously with a basket full of earth on his head. Sa'd though being orthodox permitted the entire statuary in the royal palace to remain intact.¹ Large quantities of diamonds, gold and silver and other valuables worth about nine million dirhams with other spoils fell into their hands.² Valuable robes and a precious carpet of the Chosroes provided with all the paraphernalia of spring along with other ancient relics and one-fifth of the booty were sent to Madīnah under the escort of Ziyād. The sight of this huge booty made 'Umar weep. Replying to a query he said that this wealth might create envy and jealousy and ultimately ruin the Muslims. Therefore when he received a letter requesting for permission to embark on yet other conquests he refused this saying, "I would much rather see an insurmountable mountain between Mesopotamia and those lands, so that neither

1. Tabarī, quoted by Shiblī, I, p. 163.

2. Ibn al-Athīr, II, 400; Tabarī, I, 2436.

they (Persians) should be able to approach us nor we should be able to approach them.”¹

Thus was peace established on the Persian border and to maintain it the sea-port Ubullah on the Persian Gulf was conquered and two military stations, Kūfah near al-Ḥīrah and Baṣrah near Ubullah, were founded and developed.

‘Umar had issued strict orders to stop advance on Persia. He tended to restrain the Muslim arms within the limits of ‘Irāq in the country bounded by the western slopes of the Persian range. But the Persians were not to keep quiet at the loss of ‘Irāq. Yazdagird, the refugee king at Merv, instigated the Persians to raise arms against the Muslims. The subsequent events compelled ‘Umar to withdraw the ban against advance on Persia in 16H/ Feb. 637-8 and allow his army to march from the newly founded military base at Baṣrah. For a short while the Persian court held out in the fortifications of Hulwān and the Muslims ruled over the plain as far as the border of Madā’in. But the Muslim Governor of the Baḥrayn being alarmed at the enemy’s movements across the Persian Gulf crossed it in 16H/637 A. C. He was trapped in the enemy’s snare but rescued by a reinforcement sent under ‘Utbah, the Governor of Baṣrah.

Hurmuzān, the Persian Governor of Ahwāz, who had fled after the battle of Qādisiyah, came back and began to raid the ‘Arab out-posts. ‘Utbah gave battle to him and occupied Ahwāz in 17 H/ Jan 638-9 but his successor Muḥḥīrah, however, granted immunity to Hurmuzān in 18H/639.

As Yazdagird b. Shahryār the Persian Emperor who had taken refuge at Merv, had instigated the populace of Persia to

1. Muhammad Ali, *Early Caliphate*, p. 126.

rise against the Muslims, the Persian soldiers commanded by Rustam's brother arzad made a futile stand against the Muslims commanded by Hāshim b. 'Utbah at Jalūlah on the right bank of the Diyala and along the old caravan route between Babylonia and Persia and on the fringe of the Persian highland towards the end of 637 A. C. (16 H). Jalūlah however fell after a few months siege. Qa'qā' Qa'qā' marched on Hulwān and captured it.

Hurmuzān also joined the revolts and marched to Ram Hurmuz to give battle to another Muslim General Nu'mān who had been put at the command of the forces of Baṣrah and Kūfah. Hurmuzān sustained defeat and fled to the fort of Shustar, about fifty miles to the north of Ahwāz. He submitted and when he was brought to the presence of 'Umar the sublime simplicity of the Caliph influenced him so much that he accepted Islām. But the Persian monarch kept on fanning the flame of another war to be fought against the Muslims and created a situation which enabled 'Umar to deliver the final blow to his tottering empire. In considering the request of the soldiers posted on the frontier to be allowed to march forward, 'Umar appreciated the complexity of the situation and lifted the ban from marching on Persia. Muir has nicely put it, "The truth began to dawn on Omar that necessity was laid upon him to withdraw the ban against advance. In self defence, nothing was left but to crush the Chosroes and to take entire possession of his realm."¹ Later in 641 A. C. Mawṣil (Mosul) was captured.

Yazdagird had meanwhile withdrawn from Hulwān to Persia in 640 and raised a huge army of 150,000 strong under the command of Firūzān. Muslim forces were collected from Baṣrah and Kūfah 30,000 in number and were sent under

the command of Nu'mān b. Muqarrin (Maqrān) to Hulwān to check the advance of the Persian force. Qarmasin, north-east of Hulwān, which commanded the passes into the mountainous country was occupied and the Muslim army garrisoned at Sus was moved to attack Iṣṭakhr (Persepolis). The Persian Monarch Yazdagird III gave the chief command of his army to Mardān Shāh the son of Hurmuz. The 'Arab and Persian forces met at Nihāwand near ancient Ecbatana south of Hamadān in 22 H/643. The Muslims were only one-third of the enemies. After two days' battle, the Persians retired to refuel themselves. On the advice of Tulayḥah, the Muslims fell back to draw the Persians out of the line of fortification. They pursued the Muslims who returned and a sanguinary battle ensued. Though the Muslim General, Nu'mān, was killed, the Persians were defeated with severe loss and were killed 3,000 in number. The Muslim force under Hudhayfah ibn al-Yaman marched on Rayy where the Persians under Isfandiyār were again defeated.

Hearing the news of the defeat of the Persians at Nihāwand Yazdagird fled to Isfahān and from there to Kirmān and thence to the Khāqān in Farghanah. There the Persian Monarch tried to raise an army of the Tartars but to no purpose. After this defeat the Persians never thought of giving a unified resistance to the advancing Muslim soldiers. The shattered Persian army now began to defend the fortified cities by shutting themselves up in the citadels and the Persian King at last met martyrdom at the hands of a treacherous satrap near Merv in 651.

Shortly after 643 A. C. the occupation of Mikrān (Modern Baluchistan) brought the Muslims to the borders of India which was invaded later by the Umayyads. According to Balādhurī, however, the lower parts of Deibul (Daybul) and Thana were conquered by the Muslims under 'Umar.¹

The Persian towns fell one after another and Muslim territory extended to Sijistān, Ādharbā'ijān and Khurāsān by 23H/644 and *jizyah* was imposed on those who did not accept Islām. There were, however, some who neither accepted Islām nor paid the *jizyah* but agreed to render military assistance to the Muslim conquerors. Shahr Barāz, an Armenian Chief, and the Jurjanese submitted on condition that they would render military service to the Muslims. Thus on the ruins of the empire of the Magians the Muslim sovereignty was established.

Conquest of Syria :— Though the Persians were defeated the Christian tribes in upper Mesopotamia rose in revolt against the Muslims and Eastern Roman forces gathered at Takrit about a hundred miles north of Madā'in. Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās marched to repulse the Roman attack and convey the message of Islām to the Christian Bedouin tribes, three of them namely Taghlib, Namar and 'Ayāḍ accepted Islām, and the Byzantine army had a severe set back.

The news of the victory of Khlālid at Ajnadayn in Jamādī al-Awwal 13/July 634 had reached Madīnah while Abū Bakr was on his death-bed and Khlālid defeating the Byzantines at Faḥl laid siege to Damascus the capital of Syria. The siege lingered on for six months. A special

1. *The Caliphate*, p. 172.

effort was made in this siege by Khālīd. Important generals were posted at different gates of the city while he himself lay encamped at the eastern gate. Heraclius, who had taken refuge at Antioch, sent reinforcements from Hims (Emesa) but their way to Damascus had been blocked by Khālīd by capturing the plain of Marj al-Suffar twenty miles south of Damascus on Muḥarram 1, 14 H/Feb. 25, 635. Brewing the biting cold of Damascus one night, while the populace was engrossed in drinking and merry making on the occasion of a festival, Khālīd with a handful of picked men swam across the moat brimmed with water and scaled the rampart, slew the guard and opened the gate, the Muslim troops rushed in and the city fell without much bloodshed in Rajab 14/Sept. 635 after a siege of six months. The Christian patriarchs, however, sued the Prefect, Mansūr, for surrender. The citizens were granted favourable terms which secured their lives and property and became the model for them to be granted to the defeated people in other cities. They were taxed one *dīnār* and one *qafīz* of wheat for head (adult).

The additional forces sent by Heraclius to help the garrison of Damascus finding their way blocked rallied at Baisan eighteen miles south of Tiberias and the Muslim troops concentrated at Faḥl (Gr Pella) east of the Jordan. An attempt to effect peace negotiations failed. The Christians offered to cede the district of Balqa' and a part of the Jordon contingents to Arabia on condition that the Muslims would turn towards Persia. But Mu'adh refused to accept the offer. Then they directly negotiated with Abū 'Ubaydah. Instead of paying tribute the Christians now offered to pay two dinars to each Muslim soldier provided the Muslims withdrew. This condition was rejected by Abū

Ubaydah and the battle ensued. In spite of a large force of 50,000 strong, the Romans were defeated and Urdunn (Jordan) with its surrounding lands fell in 14 H/635 A. C.¹ The victorious 'Arab army marched towards Ḥimṣ which also fell after a brief resistance. The people of Ḥimṣ surrendered, agreed to pay 170,000 dīnārs annually as tribute and said, "We like your rule and justice far better than the state of oppression and tyranny under which we have been living."² Khālīd then wanted to proceed further up but instructions from 'Umar stopped the Muslims from pushing the conquest further and they had to retrace their steps.³ 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ encamped at Urdunn, Abū 'Ubaydah at Ḥimṣ and Khālīd at Damascus.

The Roman Emperor Heraclius collected a huge army at Antioch. Finding his position critical at Ḥimṣ and failing to guarantee life and property of the citizens, Abū 'Ubaydah returned the *jizyah* which had been collected from the Christians and Jews of Ḥimṣ and retreated towards Damascus.⁴ Admiring the toleration and justice of the Muslim conquerors Muir and De Goeje quote a Nestorian Bishop who wrote some fifteen years after the conquest of Damascus, "These Arabs to whom God has accorded in our days the dominion are become our masters; but they do not combat the Christian religion; much rather they protect our faith; they respect our priests and our holy men, and make gifts to our churches and our convents."⁵

1. Tabarī, 12158.

2. Balādhuri, 137/211tr. quoted by Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, p. 153; cf. Azdi, *Futūḥ al-Shām*, p. 131 quoted by Shibli, 1, pp. 179-82.

3. Azdi, *Futūḥ al-Shām*, 131.

4. Qaḍi Abu Yusuf, *Kitāb al-Kharāj*, p. 21.

5. *The Caliphate*, p. 128; *Conquete de la Syrie*, p. 84 quoted by Butler, p. 159n.

Some parts of Urdunn were also evacuated and the armies of 'Amr ibn al-Āṣ and Abū 'Ubaydah rallied on the bank of the Yarmūk (Hieromax) the eastern tributary of the Jordan rising in the Hawran and discharging below the Sea of Galilee. A reinforcement from Madīnah also came and joined the armies at the Yarmūk raising the number of the Muslims to some 35,000.¹ The Romans came with over 50,000 men² consisting of the Byzantines to push the Muslims back. Here also an attempt was made to conclude peace, the Romans trying to bribe the Muslims while the Muslims insisted on tribute. The negotiation, however, failed and a battle was fought on Tuesday 12th Jumādā II/23rd July 636. The Muslims were repulsed several times and were once pursued even up to their camps. At which they were reviled by their women and they fought desperately by rushing upon ranks of the Byzantine legions which were completely routed and driven into the river. The Byzantines were defeated with heavy casualty³ losing their general Theodorus himself. The Muslims suffered casualty of 31,000 men. This battle which ended on the 1st September decided the fate of Syria just as Qadisiyah had done that of Persia. Town after town, like Qinnisrin (Chalcis), Ḥalab (Aleppo), Anṭākīyah (Antioch) up to Taurus, mountains, fell and paid the tributes. Some Christians and Jews joined the Muslims, invited them to relieve them from the oppression of their Christian rulers⁴ and accepted

1. Cf. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, p. 152n2.

2. Cf. Hitti, p. 152. According to some Muslim writers the Byzantines had about 2,00,000 soldiers in the battle of Yarmūk and the Muslims, 30,000.

3. According to some Muslim sources about 100,000 Byzantines were killed.

4. Butler, *The Arab Conquest of Egypt*, p. 160; cf. Bury, *Later Roman Empire*, II, 215 for the persecution of the Jews.

Islām. The Christians of the Jarājimah (Jarjoma) tribe submitted and agreed to join the Muslim force if required against their own brethren in faith. The Jarajimah led a semi-independent life in the fastnesses of al-Lukkam (Amanus).¹

Abū 'Ubaydah was appointed Governor-General of Syria which from south to north was subdued between 633 and 640 A. C. replacing Khalid, while the Emperor of the country, Heraclius, the conqueror of the Persians, being beaten by the 'Arabs had taken ship for the metropolis of Empire, Constantinople, in Sha'bān 15/September, 636 A. C.²

Jerusalem was besieged by 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ who despite having been originally diverted by Caliph Abū Bakr to advance towards Palestine had not been able to do so. Abū 'Ubaydah sent a detachment under Khalid ibn Thābit to reinforce 'Amr. Artabun (Aretion) with his army fled to Egypt from Palestine. Jerusalem was beleaguered. Since the Persian occupation its bulworks had been rebuilt and strengthened. The 'Arabs having no effective means to storm the city continued the siege all through the winter of 636-7 or even longer. The seventy years old Patriarch Sophronius finding no way out and apprehending famine agreed to capitulate on condition that 'Umar himself would sign the treaty. The condition was accepted by the Caliph who travelled a long distance from Madīnah to Palestine in plain raiment and with a small retinue leaving the administration of Madīnah in the charge of Ḥaḍrat 'Alī. The treaty which was in favour of the Christian citizens was ratified and the Jews and Greeks were required to evacuate the city and the Christians who remained agreed

1. Cf. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, 204; cf. Balādhuri, 159/246 tr.; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, I, see Djaradjima.

2. Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, 143.

to pay the *jizyah* on the guarantee of life and property and safety of their churches.¹ Among the witnesses who signed the treaty in *Dhū al-ḥijjah* 15/Jan. 637 at al-Jabi-yah were 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ, *Khālīd* b. Walīd, 'Abd al Raḥ-mān ibn Āwf and Mu'āwiyah. It is, however, curious that the Governor Abū 'Ubaydah, was not among the signatories of the treaty.

According to Christian testimony while the Patriarch Sophronius was taking the Caliph round the holy places and antiquities of Jerusalem the hour for Muslim prayers came and the Patriarch offered the Caliph who was then within the Church of the Resurrection to say his prayers, 'Umar declined to do so saying the Muslims later on might convert it to mosque on the plea that the Caliph had said his prayers there. On the same ground he did not say his prayers in the Church of Constantine where arrangements for prayer had already been made. This is a remarkable instance of religious toleration on the part of the conquerors.² On his return journey 'Umar toured the entire country and visited the frontiers.

After the occupation of Mesopotamia and Syria, although the Muslims had acquired much power and strength and the lands of Asia Minor were open for attack, 'Umar did not allow his soldiers to proceed further, and remained contented after re-amalgamating the 'Arab tribes with the mother land. Circumstances, however, made the Muslims extend their territory. The peoples of al-Jazīrah, north of Mesopotamia, revolted and instigated the Caesar to recapture Syria. The Greek Emperor thus attacked Syria by the sea-route through Alexandria and captured Antioch, while

1. See Umar's contract in Muir, *Caliphate*, p. 134; cf. Ṭabarī, 2404.

2. Cf. Muir, *Caliphate*, p. 135; Baladhuri, *Fuṣūḥ al-Bulḍān*, p. 147.

Halb, Qinnisrin and other northern towns also rose in arms and joined the people of al-Jazīrah. They concentrated 30,000 in number. The Muslim General, Abū 'Ubaydah, got alarmed, rallied his troops at Hims and wrote to the Caliph for reinforcements. 'Umar himself marched towards Syria. Before his arrival Abū 'Ubaydah won back to his side the 'Arab tribes who had allied themselves with the Greeks and defeated the Greeks. Al-Jazīrah was invested by Sa'd and conquered in 17 H/638 A. C.

Recall of Khālīd :—This was the year when Khālīd received order from the Khalīfah for his return to Madīnah. After the fall of Jerusalem Khālīd was removed from the command and put under Abū 'Ubaydah. In 17/638 he was charged with embezzlement of public money because of his offering one thousand dinars to a poet lauret of Kindah tribe namely al-'Ash'ath. When he explained that he had made the gift from his personal purse, he was exonerated but not reinstated on the plea that the people had started attributing all the conquests of Musulmans to his skill and prowess instead of looking above to Allāh the Giver of all victory. It can not be doubted that by this time Khālīd had become very popular among the Muslims due to his military prowess which perhaps the Caliph did not like this. Thus Khālīd was deprived of his office and consequently of prominence.

The same year plague broke out at Amwas (Emmaus) in Syria and infected lands up to Mesopotamia. From low land troops were removed to hills and raised lands. About 20,000 soldiers including Abu 'Ubaydah¹ and Mu'adh ibn Jabal died of pestilence which was followed shortly

1. Abu 'Ubaydah's grave at Amwas is still visited and venerated by the Muslims cf. *Revue des etudes islamiques*, 1933, p. 547.

afterwards by a severe famine. 'Umar himself went to Syria to relieve the ravages done by plague and by inaugurating relief operations. On the death of Yazīd b. Abū Sufyān the successor of Abū 'Ubaydah, Mu'āwiyah b. Abū Sufyān was appointed the Caliph's viceregent in Syria and Palestine. He divided them into four administrative zones Dimashq, Ḥims, Urdunn (Jordan) and Filastīn (Palestine). The conquest of Syria which became the main base for further military operations in Asia Minor and North Africa increased the prestige of Islām in the eyes of the world.

Conquest of Egypt :— While 'Umar was busy in relief work at al-Jābiyah near Damascus during his last visit to Syria, 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ' sought his permission to attack Egypt. 'Umar was reluctant at first to grant him permission. But his repeated representations made him agree. He marched at the head of 4,000 to 5,000 soldiers. The Arabs apprehended danger of a Greek attack from their naval base at Alexandria, the Capital of Egypt, which had been wrested by Emperor Heraclius from the Persians in 628 A. C. and where the Byzantine Governor of Jerusalem, Aretion (Arṭabūn), had taken refuge along with his troops. Moreover Alexandria had already been used once as the naval base for the Greek attack on Antioch. The Caliph gave his consent but only after considerable hesitation because his troops had already suffered in Syria and he was not willing to endanger their lives further. 'Amr received 'Umar's instructions through Shariḥ b. 'Ahdab,

1. He had made many commercial trips to Egypt before he accepted Islam. cf. Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, *Futuh al-Misr* (ed. C. C. Torrey, New Haven, 1922, p. 5) and for his character see A. J. Butler, *The Arab Conquest of Egypt and the Last Thirty years of the Roman Dominion*, Oxford, 1902, pp. 199-206.

“If my letter ordering thee to turn back from Egypt overtakes thee before entering any part of it then turn back but if thou enter the land before the receipt of my letter, then proceed and solicit Allah’s aid.”¹ On his return to Madīnah when ‘Umar consulted ‘Uthmān and others they pointed out the danger of risking a fresh battle without naval support, he sent a letter to ‘Amr. It was received by him at ‘Arīsh or Rafj (Rafḥ) in the confines of Egypt after ‘crossing the Egypt-Palestine border.’

‘Amr ibn al-‘Āṣ marched towards the close of 18H/639 and was reinforced subsequently by Zubayr ibn al-‘Awwām. He reached the Egyptian border following the route of Wādī al-Arīsh the usually trodden coastal route on the 10th Dhū al-ḥijjah, Dec. 12, 639 with 10,000 men. He encountered violent resistance lasting one month on the way at Farama (Pelusium) which is now buried in ruins in January 640. With its occupation the entire eastern parts of Egypt fell into the hands of the Muslims. Next conquering Bilbays (Bilbeis) to the north-east of Cairo, the fertile plains of Fayyum, Umm Daum and some other towns, ‘Amr the Qurayshite general proceeded to the fort of Babylon in the old Memphis across the isle of al-Rawḍah in the Nile and the Muqaṭṭam hill, and laid siege to it by laying his camp outside the city where later the city of Fustāṭ (Latin *Fossatum*) meaning camp grew up. This military colony of the Arabs developed in Egypt in the lines of Kūfah and Baṣrah in ‘Irāq and Qayrawān in Roman Africa later on.

After the occupation of Egypt by Heraclius, Cyrus (al-Muqawqis) had been appointed Patriarch of Alexandria and

1. Abu ‘Abd al-Hakam, pp. 56-7; Ya‘qubī, II, 168-9; Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, p. 160; Shibli, *Umar the Great*, I, 267-8.
2. Baladhuri, 213/335 tr; Shibli, *Umar the Great*, I, 268 n1.

civil head of the country in 631 A. C., who hastened to the fort of Babylon with the commander-in-chief, the augustabla Theodorus, and about 20,000 Greeks besides 5,000 garrisons. During the siege 'Amr lured the Byzantines out of their fortress into an open battle and occupied 'Ayn Shams (ancient Heliopolis) by defeating the Byzantines in July 640. Theodorus fled to Alexandria and Cyrus joined the garrison. Zubayr rode around the trenches, ordered the shooting of a shower of missiles upon the fort by means of catapults and finally scaling the wall of the fort of Babylon, attacked the garrison which being overtaken by terror laid down their arms after seven months on Monday, after Easter, 9th April, 641. The garrison was granted amnesty and the city along with the lower part of Egypt fell into the hands of the Muslims. Cyrus fled to Alexandria but was charged with treason and thrown into prison. The Copts like their Syrian brethren welcomed the victory of the Muslims. They were relieved from the heavy taxation imposed by Cyrus. The people of Memphis now agreed to pay a fixed tribute on receiving a guarantee for the safety of life, property and churches.

The condition of the Byzantine possessions deteriorated even more under the new emperor Constans (Constantin) II, the eleven years old grandson of Heraclius (d. February 641). 'Amr meanwhile obtained permission from the Caliph for launching an attack on Alexandria. After encountering a short but stiff resistance en route he reached Alexandria where he received reinforcements. By this time the Caesar had landed his troops. The combined forces of the Romans and the Egyptians sought to oppose the Muslims but to no avail and 'Amr besieged the strongly fortified town which, however, continued to receive

regular supplies by the sea. The siege, therefore, dragged on for long. The Copts were won over, their services were utilized in constructing roads and bridges and in supplying provisions to the Muslim army. Alexandria which boasted a garrison of about 50,000 strong fell at last on 16th Shawwāl, 21 H/17th September, 642.¹

Meanwhile Cyrus was restored by the minor and immature ruler Constans II. The Patriarch concluded a treaty and agreed to pay a fixed tribute of two dinars per adult head, entertain for three days travelling Muslims and provide each Muslim with three *artabas* of wheat and two *qists* each of vinegar, honey and oil, and also clothing. Land-holders, according to their holdings of arable lands, paid one dīnār, one-half *artaba* of wheat and two *waybahs* of barley for each *faddān* of their land or one dīnār plus three *artabas* of corn per *jarīb*. Cyrus, on his part, paid an indemnity of 13,000 dīnārs. The Greeks were allowed to withdraw within eleven months of the armistice while the Jews were permitted to reside in Alexandria. The city was evacuated in September 642 and Constans II ratified the treaty. The fall of Babylon and Alexandria cleared the field of all possible formidable resistance and thus whole of Egypt fell into the hands of the Muslims.

1. Cf. Maqrizi, p. 267. Alexandria was a great important town from the time of the Greeks. There was rich library with its valuable collections. The story of the burning of Ptolemaic Library of Alexandria by Muslims is fictitious having been circulated probably for the first time by 'Abd al-Latif al-Baghdadi. The library had been burnt by Julius Caesar in 48 B. C. about four hundred years before the Muslims conquered the town and its daughter library by Emperor Theodosius about 389 A. C. Cf. *al-Isfādh wal-I'tibar* (ed & tr. Latin by J. White), Oxford, p. 114; Butler, *The Arab conquest of Egypt*, Oxford, 1902, p. 425; Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, pp. 164-5.

'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ sent the happy news of the conquest to 'Umar in the following words, "I have captured a city from the description of which I shall refrain. Suffice it to say that I have seized therein 4,000 villas with 4,000 baths, 40,000 polltax paying Jews and four hundred places of entertainment for the royalty."¹

The military encampment namely Fustāt, *Fossatum*, was fixed as the capital of the newly conquered parts of Egypt and a mosque after the name of the conqueror was built which is still extant and of which model there are a few old mosques in the villages. During the time of Caliph 'Uthmān Alexandria was captured temporarily by the Caesar due to the treachery of the citizens only to be retaken by 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ in 25 H/645-6. Due to this breach of peace the agreement made with Cyrus was abrogated and the Coptic Patriarch Benjamin was not provided with the facilities granted to Cyrus. The status of the Copts even after their revolt however remained unchanged. 'Amr took a census of the Arabs living in Egypt to supply them with food and clothing.

No change was introduced in the administrative machinery in the lower offices in Egypt as in other newly conquered countries of Persia and Syria. The Amīr (governor) was the head of military and police and to check his power an 'āmil (director of finance) was appointed to deal with the collection of revenue. The taxes were collected both in cash and kind preferably wheat and were deposited in the district treasury and granary whence it was transported to the capital. Rations and pensions were distributed among the soldiers and their families.² After settlement 'Amr collected 12,000,000 dīnārs about 8,000,000 gold pieces less than

1. Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, p. 82 quoted by Hitti, pp. 164-5.

2. H. Bell, *The Administration of Egypt under the Umayyad Caliphate*,

levied by Muqawqis bringing thus a great relief to the peasantry.

Financial organization was centralised. 'Abd Allāh ibn Abi Sarḥ, the foster-brother of Caliph 'Uthmān, was placed in charge of Upper Egypt to assist 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ. The latter established a *diwān* at al-Fuṣṭāṭ divided into two departments, one for upper and the other for lower Egypt. On the basis of the local calender the *diwān* made the actual repartition of the tax quota among the several units of a Pagarchy (fiscal administrative unit).

At the order of 'Umar, 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ dug a canal called *Khālīj Amīr al-Mu'minīn* which passed through Heliopolis and connected the Nile, north of Memphis, with the Red Sea and used for transporting corn and other goods from Egypt to the 'Arab port Yanbu' on the Red Sea. In 644 twenty ships' load grain was despatched to Arabia through this canal.¹

Causes of Territorial Expansion :— Various forces combined to set the stage for the territorial expansion of Islām. There was the social unrest, the reaction against Hellenism in Syria and Egypt, the decline of the Byzantine and Persian empires and a growing realization by the 'Arab nomads of the opportunities for booty. Yet these forces would not in themselves account for the rise of Islamic empire nor for the development of Islam into a world religion. It is surprising indeed that the Muslims fought wars on two fronts with two bigger and stronger powers at one

1928, pp. 278 ff.; H. Lamens, *Etudes sur le siècle de Omayyads*, Beyrouth, 1930, pp. 303-23.

1. Ya'qubi, II, 177. After eighty years it got silted but was cleared and used throughout the Fatimid period of rule under different names till it silted completely towards the end of the 19th century.

and the same time and yet were victorious over them. The Roman and Persian soldiers though greatly deteriorated were better equipped and organised and were greater in number than the Muslims. While their enemies were able to muster 250,000 soldiers, the Muslims were never able to bring more than 40,000 troops to the battlefield. Also their battles were fought on the enemy ground, where the defenders had strong forts and abundant supplies advantages which the Muslims did not enjoy.

Disunity and disintegration prevailed among the rival Sasanids and Byzantines who had been engaged in internecine wars against each other for many generations and consequently heavy taxes were imposed on the citizens of the two empires which undermined their sense of loyalty and broke up the morale of the Persians and the Byzantines. The policy of establishing settlements of the 'Arab tribes on the borders of Persia and Syria was also responsible for the ultimate fall of the two countries. They could muster larger forces than the Muslims did but their number was of no avail since their morale was low, and disunity had set in among them. Now they came to value their lives more than victory on the field.

On the other hand though the Muslims were fewer in number and poorly equipped, they were united under the banner of Islām and fired with new enthusiasm. They were conscious of the glory of the martyr's death and ready to lay down their lives at the behest of their generals. They believed 'If they were killed fighting for their faith they would attain paradise and receive the proud title of *Shahīd* (martyr) and if they killed the enemies for the noble cause they were called *ghāzī*. It was self determination, self sacrifice and the remarkable feats of valour of the Muslim soldiers which won them victory. Professor Hitti

observes, "After the death of the Prophet sterile Arabia seems to have been converted as if by magic into a nursery of heroes the like of whom both in number and quality is hard to find anywhere. The military campaigns of *Khalid ibn al-Walīd* and 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ which ensued in al-'Iraq, Persia, Syria and Egypt are among the most brilliantly executed in the history of warfare and bear favourable comparison with those of Napoleon, Hannibal or Alexander."¹

Tulayḥah rushed into the ranks of the Persians at Qadisiyah and, slaying a number of them, came back with a prisoner. Abū Mihjān an 'Arab poet who had been put to prison when found drunk in the battlefield of Qadisiyah requested the wife of Sa'd, the commander in chief, to release him so that he might participate in the battle which was done. In the evening, after fighting vigorously in the battle field, he returned to the prison and had the fetters put on him again. The commander appreciated his zeal and bravery and set him free and it is recorded that he never touched wine again.² At Madā'in the Muslim soldiers under the command of Sa'd plunged their horses into the stream and crossed the river Tigris to the astonishment and wonder of the enemies. At Yarmuk when the Muslim soldiers were forced to retire towards the camps of their women, their mothers and sisters of Islam, *Shurahbil* was heard reciting the Quranic verse, "Allāh has purchased of the faithful their lives and their property, in return for this that they shall have paradise" and calling upon the people back to honour this divine bargain.³ In

1. *Histors of the Arabs*, p. 142.

2. Qadi Abū Yūsuf, *Kitāb al-Kharāj*, 18.

3. Cf. *Shibli Nu'māni*, I (tr.) 266.

the battle field of *Jasr* (Bridge) where the Muslims although defeated had not shown lack of bravery or courage. Their commander himself had dashed against the wall of elephants formed by the Persians, followed by his brother and five other Muslim soldiers one by one although all of them were trampled to death by one beast alone. These were some of the glorious feats of valour which the Muslim soldiers performed on different occasions and which have emblazoned their names in the history of warfare.

It was the sense of duty which made the Muslim soldiers sacrifice their lives in the way of God and fight desperately against the enemies in spite of great disparity in numerical strength the example of which had been set up by the Prophet himself. They demonstrated truly and well that success depended more on the strength of heart born of faith in God than on merely numbers of arms and equipment.

The soldiers of Islām who were usually men of strong belief and character and were tied by the concepts of unity and brotherhood of Islam, thought little of dying for the cause of Islām and had little desire for the lands or spoils of victory were practically unheard of. They were so keen believers in ironing the discipline and inexorable justice that even great generals, when accused or dismissed even on minor charges or relegated to the command of their subordinates, never raised their voices against the decisions so taken. They readily submitted to the action taken by the authority.

It was the simplicity of the life of the caliphs and the sincerity of their purpose which influenced deeply both friends and foes. Their soldiers were kind and tolerant to their non-Muslim subjects and seldom violated the terms of peace. This was one reason inducing conquered peoples

to transfer their allegiances from their old masters to the new ones and helped in the consolidation of Muslim rule and sovereignty in non-'Arab lands. The Persians built bridges for the Muslims and supplied them with the secret news of the enemies. The Syrians worked as intelligent officers for the Muslims in the conquest of Syria. Thousands of Persians and Byzantines joined the Muslim force and fought against their own people. While the battle of Qadisiyah was going on, 4,000 of the Persian soldiers under Daylam joined the Muslim troops commanded by Sa'd b. Abi Waqqās.¹ George, the famous Byzantine soldier, accepted Islam and was found fighting against the Romans in the battle of Yarmūk. Appreciating the Muslim achievements Hitti observes, "Under the stimulus of Islam the East now awoke and reasserted itself after a millennium of Western domination. Moreover, tribute exacted by the new conquerors was even less than that exacted by the old, and the conquered could now pursue their religious practices with more freedom and less interference."²

The Muslims adopted the new military technique of using the cavalry and camelry extensively against the Romans which the latter had never mastered. This factor helped them greatly in overpowering their enemies.

Material gain, as it has been pointed out by certain critics, was not the main concern of the territorial extension of the Islamic Empire, at least in the beginning. Wealth was not prized or desired greatly by early Muslims. Greed for booty, as it has been wrongly alleged by some modern historians, like Caetani and Becker,³ never brought them

1. *Futuh al-Buldan*, 389.

2. *The History of Arabs*, p. 143.

3. Cf. *Cambridge Medieval History*, Newyork, 1957, vol. II. p. 355.

into clash with the Romans and the Persians, The burning zeal, reckless courage and spirit of fatal sacrifice displayed by the Muslims on the battle-field could never be expected from mere robbers and plunderers. The Muslims were weaker than their enemies and they had to take up arms in self-defence. Thus 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ubayy refused to accompany the Prophet with 30,000 soldiers on his Syrian expedition on the ground that they would not take the trouble of the long journey to Syria for no hope of considerable booty and laughed at them on their triumphant return but without any material gain. Muḥammad, the Prophet, was bitterly criticized. When Abū Bakr raised an army for the Syrian campaign he summoned the people of Makkah, Ṭā'if, Yaman, other parts of Ḥijāz and Najd to a holy war, exciting their zeal for their sacred cause rather than booty to be won from the Greeks.¹ Abū Bakr's primary concern in raising the army was, therefore, for fighting a holy war and not for plunder as interpreted by certain critics.² It is recorded that when huge quantities of booty came from the Persian capital of Madā'in, 'Umar wept for he apprehended that wealth and luxury might make the Muslims lazy and lead them ultimately to their ruination.

Death :—'Umar was stabbed in the Mosque of Madīnah while praying in the morning by a Persian Christian, Abū Lu'lu Fīrūz, who was a carpenter, ironsmith and painter by profession and slave of Muḥarrir ibn Shu'bah, the Governor of Kūfah. He had been posted at Madīnah to collect taxes. He committed suicide after killing a few other persons. The wounded Caliph said his prayer under the Imāmat of

1. Cf. Baladhurī, *Futuh al-Buldān*, p. 107/165 tr.

2. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, pp. 144-5.

‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ‘Awf and finding nobody suitable to succeed him nominated a board of election consisting of six members, ‘Uthmān ibn ‘Affān, ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, Zubayr ibn al-‘Awwām, Ṭalḥah ibn ‘Abd Allāh, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ‘Awf and Sa’d ibn Abī Waqqās, the Chief companions of the Prophet, to elect one of them as his successor after his death.¹ The emergent necessity of arranging the succession arose at a time when the Caliph was completely unprepared for this. He did this hoping that his successor so chosen would have unanimous support of at least five chief companions and their men. Often he had said, “What a pity, I find none who can bear this heavy burden.” In the absence of any fixed rule of succession this was the nearest to a solution of the problem that a mortally wounded caliph could think of. He succumbed after three days on Saturday the 1st of Muḥarram 24/27th November, 644, leaving behind instruction for his successor to respect the rights and privileges of the Muhājirs, the Anṣārs, the Bedouins, imigrant Arabs to foreign cities and the *Dhimmis* (Christians, Jews and Magians). He ruled for ten years, six months and four days.²

Character and Achievements :— ‘Umar al-Fārūq was one of the very few early literate converts to Islām. He was a great orator and greatly distinguished as a wrestler. The Caliph lived an austere life even though he came to conquer Syria, Egypt and Persia and became the supreme commander of all Muslims. In the true sense of the term he was the Caliph, the greatest servant of the people, and this he proved by his simplicity and sincerety of conduct. He wore coarse

1. Cf. *Mustadrik*, III, 91, 93.

2. Shibli, *Umar the Great*, I, 285-7

and patched up garments and attended in person to the humblest duty. At the time of signing the treaty of Jerusalem he was clad in usual coarse cloth which came to be torn during the journey and was patched up by a Christian priest. He did not despise the humblest manual labour. Like any ordinary man he rendered necessary treatment to the ailing camel¹ of the Bayt al-Māl and went in person in search of it if it strayed away. He carried bags of corn on his back in helping the relief work during famines. At night he used to visit the houses of the famine stricken and distressed people and gave them flour and, often, even helped them in preparing food.² When Syria was visited by plague and subsequently by famine he organised relief work and himself attended to the needs of the bereaved families. Public works were constructed and caravansaraies were built in towns and trade centres. He sent his own wife Kulthūm to assist the helpless and lonely wife of a Bedouin at the time of child-birth.³ ‘Umar was ever accessible to the people and his portals of justice were always open for complainants. He listened quietly to people even if they rebuked him as in the matter of the dismissal of Khālīd about which he was criticized. Once ‘Umar was lecturing on the rates of dowry, a woman stood and said, “Umar ! Fear God.” The Caliph appreciated the criticism and said, “Even a woman knows more than ‘Umar does.”⁴

The Caliph took particular care of his non-Muslim subjects and enjoined his successor to cherish their rights and protect them. Non-Muslims such as Christians, Jews

1. *Kanz al-Ummāl*, 164.

2. *Ibid*, 352.

3. *Ibid*, 343.

4. Hāji Mu‘in al-Dīn, *Khulafā’-l-Rāshidīn*, p. 135

and Magians enjoyed full religious freedom. The Christians of Najrān and the Jews of *Khaybar* although ordered to settle else where on account of their disloyal tendencies were yet given double the value of their property left behind¹ as well as travelling allowances to cover the expenses of their journey and, above all, temporary exemption from the *jizyah*. Christians, if found begging, were not only exempted from the *jizyah* but also given subsistence allowance from the public treasury. Old age pensions were granted to non-Muslim subjects.² Muslim assassins of non-Muslims were not spared from capital punishment.

Non-Muslim practices which tended to disturb the public peace were however stopped. Minor children of those Christians who accepted Islām were not allowed to be baptised until they reached the age of puberty. Christians were forbidden to toll their bells in the churches at the times of the Muslim prayers. They were also forbidden to carry the cross in processions or pigs through Muslim quarters. These prohibitions were imposed to maintain peace yet 'Umar has been criticized on the alleged ground that non-Muslims were deprived of their religious rights.

His services to the cause of social uplift cannot be overlooked. The social status of women and slaves was raised and the Caliph took a definite step to abolish slavery and issued an order in the first year of his *Khilāfat* to the effect that no 'Arab should be made a slave.'³ As a general rule war prisoners were sold into slavery but 'Umar went one step further, by abolishing this system. Accordingly, war prisoners in Egypt were all set free. Whenever the vanquished con-

1. Cf. *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, 163 ; *Tabari*, 2162.

2. *Kitāb al-Kharāj*, 72.

3. *Ya'qubi*, II, 158.

cluded treaties with their Muslim conquerors, prisoners of war were freed and even when they did not enter into treaty their prisoners were set at large *albeit* on the payment of ransom. But yet slavery from non-Arabs could not be abolished. The slaves from other races were given many facilities and they received the same salary and pension that their masters did.

‘Umar himself was a living example of the equality of men. Consequently, when a subsistence allowance was apportioned for him he refused to accept more than 5,000 dirhams annually, the amount given to those early converts who had participated in the battle of Badr. He showed preference to the former Abyssinian slave Bilāl over the Quraysh Chiefs. In the appointment of governors he made no distinction between the Quraysh and non-Quraysh Chiefs. ‘Umar gave to Usāmah b. Zayd a higher salary than his own son ‘Abd Allāh. The latter commented, “Usamah was in no way better than him.” ‘Umar replied that the Prophet loved more Usamah than ‘Abd Allāh.¹ Transgression upon others’ rights was severely dealt with. When ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ set up a pulpit in the mosque of Fuṣṭāṭ, the Caliph disallowed it saying that it was un-Islamic that one man should sit above all the rest of the congregation.

‘Umar’s reign constituted a resplendent in the history of the military achievements of Islām. He was not only a great conqueror but classed, for all time, among the best of rulers and most successful of national leaders.

‘Umar was also a great administrator. He displayed his genius in organizing the civil administration of the land. Every country after its conquest was divided into provinces. Cantonments were set up, police forces organised and civil

1. *Mustadrik* Ḥakim, III, see ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Umar.

offices established. Censuses were taken, pensions were fixed, lands were measured and rates of taxation were assessed and the workings of public treasuries were regularised. Canals were dug for the irrigation of lands and transportation of goods. He introduced the Muslim era of the Hijrah. Like the Prophet and Abu Bakr, before him, 'Umar disposed of crown-lands and granted fiefs to deserving and distinguished Muslims. Among those who received such grants were 'Ali, Talhah and Zubayr. The Arabs were not allowed to acquire lands outside Arabia because they were few in number and their services were essentially required in the army. The erroneous view of Von Kremer regarding 'Umar's prohibition to the Arabs against carrying on agriculture has been repeated by later writers who however failed to appreciate that there was hardly any time for the Arabs to engage on the peaceful vocation of agriculture at this crucial stage of their history.

Section III

‘UTHMĀN DHU AL-NŪRAYN

November 644—June 656

Early life :—‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān whose mother was Arwa was known as Abu ‘Abd Allāh and Abu ‘Amr and received from the Prophet the title of *Dhu al-Nurayn*.¹ He belonged to

1. *Dhū al-Nurayn*, meaning possessor of two lights, was so called because he married successively two daughters namely Ruqayyah and Umm Kulthūm of Prophet Muḥammad. This shows the extent of affection in which the Prophet held him.

the Banū Ummiyah clan of the Quraysh, the rival of the Banū Hāshim and the custodian of the national flag of the Quraysh. On the maternal side he was closely related to the Prophet because his maternal grandmother Bayḍa was the twin sister of the Prophet's father 'Abd Allāh and from the fatherside he had the same ancestor 'Abd Manāf as had the Prophet. 'Uthmān having been born in the seventh year of the Elephant was junior to the Prophet by six years. He learnt reading and writing and entered into trade. He was honest and esteemed for his integrity. While he was thirty-four years old, through Abū Bakr with whom he had a deep and lasting friendship, 'Uthmān professed Islām along with Ṭalḥah in the presence of the Prophet. He related that while he was on his way back from a trade expedition to Syria he dreamt of the Prophet's appearance at Makkah.¹ He was the only important man from his clan to accept Islām. while Abū Sufyān and 'Uqbah ibn Mu'ayt fearing that the success of Islām would be at the cost of the Banū Ummiyah's honour and prestige opposed the Prophet by tooth and nail. After his conversion 'Uthmān was harshly treated by his uncle Ḥakam.

When torture and oppression became excessive and some Muslims migrated to Abyssinia, 'Uthmān with his wife Ruqayyah accompanied them.² He returned after a few years' stay there and joined the emigrants at Madīnah. There he stayed with 'Aws b. Thābit. The religious brotherhood established between the two lasted for the lifetime. He also made great sacrifices, second only to those of Abū Bakr, for the sake of Islām. He purchased the Bīr Rumah,

1. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III, 37

2. *Ibid*, p. 38.

the only sweet water well in Madīnah for 20,000 dirhams from a Jew, who had made it a source of his income, and made it a public property. He purchased a neighbouring piece of land for the extension of the Mosque of Madīnah. Besides making contributions of 1,000 dīnārs, 1,000 camels and seventy horses, 'Uthmān undertook to provide about 13,000 soldiers, one-third of the total strength of the army, in preparation for the Tabūk expedition.¹

As his wife Ruqayyah was seriously ill he could not participate in the battle of Badr. 'Uthmān, however, joined the battle of Uḥud and participated in all the other battles. While the Prophet proceeded on Dhāt al-Riqā', he was appointed his deputy at Madīnah. 'Uthmān was sent as an emissary to the Quraysh by the Prophet from Ḥudaybiyah but was arrested and rumour spread that he had been killed. The Prophet, thereupon, took a fresh pledge of allegiance (*Bay't Ridwān*) from his followers under a tree at Ḥudaybiyah to the effect that they would fight to the last as their envoy had been killed. The Quraysh being frightened set 'Uthmān free and concluded the treaty of Ḥudaybiyah.

Election :—'Uthmān ibn 'Affān was one of the best advisers to Abū Bakr and 'Umar in the affairs of state. After consulting 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Awf and 'Uthmān, Abū Bakr sounded the opinion of others and nominated 'Umar al-Khaṭṭāb as his successor and it was 'Uthmān who penned the document of his succession. He was held in high esteem also by 'Umar who included him in the *Majlis al-Shūrā* and finally in the board of election asking them to elect one of them as a caliph within three days after his death.² The electors met in the treasury chamber adjo-

1. *Mustadrak* Ḥakīm, III, 102 quoted in *Khulafā'-i-Rāshidīn*, 192

2. Ibn Sa'd, III, section on 'Uthmān

ining 'Ā'ishah's house but could not come to any decision. 'Abd al-Raḥmān sounded opinion of the leading citizens and governors and officers who had come to pilgrimage and requested the electors to limit their nominations to three only. Accordingly Zubayr withdrew his name from the candidature in favour of 'Alī, Sa'd, in favour of 'Abd al-Raḥmān and Ṭalḥah in that of 'Uṭhmān. 'Abd al-Raḥmān withdrew his name. The choice, therefore, was to be between 'Uṭhmān and 'Alī. Throughout the night 'Abd al-Raḥmān was busy in secret consultations with the electors and also particularly with the two candidates and on the following morning he took the oath of allegiance to 'Uṭhmān as Caliph, the people following suit. 'Alī therefore took the oath of allegiance although his partisans remained sorely discontented.

Thus on Monday the fourth Muḥarram, 24/10th Nov. 644, three days after the death of 'Umar while 'Uṭhmān was seventy years of age he was elected to the Caliphate in recognition of his past services to Islām, his near relationship with Prophet Muḥammad and his seniority to 'Alī who became his successor. 'Uṭhmān had not been so prominent as had been Abū Bakr and 'Umar in their own days. Therefore 'Umar had not been able to nominate a successor specially even after receiving his grievous injury, and had to leave the task of election for the next Caliph from his six nominees who constituted the board of election. This action of 'Umar can be appreciated if it is considered that the delegation of the masses at large for this important task would surely have aroused dissensions and caused disturbances. After this two or

three days were passed by the Caliph in receiving homage. 'Uthmān made a modest speech from the pulpit of the Mosque of Madīnah.

Governors and Conquests:—'Umar had left for him an established government to run and a vast territory to rule. By temperament 'Uthmān was kind and tender hearted like Abū Bakr. He adopted 'Umar's policy of government. Within six months after his election troubles arose in Persia in violation of the terms of the treaties with that state. Yazdagird III, who was in exile, succeeded in creating dissensions in Persia against Islām. The revolts were, however, suppressed, Yazdagird III was killed at Merv, his son was driven out to China, and further extension of territory took place in the east and north. 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Amir, the governor of al-Baṣrah, the third military base of operation against Persia and Sa'īd b. 'Āṣ, marched on Khurāsān and Ṭabaristān taking different routes. Sa'īd b. 'Āṣ accompanied by Ḥasan and Husayn, the two brothers, and 'Abd Allāh b. Zubayr occupied Jurjān, Khurāsān and Ṭabaristan.¹ Iṣṭakhr was conquered by the main force under the command of the Governor himself in 29H/649-50.² The Chiefs of Harāt, Kābul and Ghaznī submitted. The revolts in Kirmān and Sijistān were put down. Forts were constructed, water courses were dug in Kirmān and it was colonised by the 'Arabs. 'Abd Allāh then besieged Nīshāpūr which surrendered after a few months' resistance and agreed to pay seven lakh dirhams annually.³ Merv which was assessed at a million and a quarter dirhams and Tus were conquered in Khurā-

1. Ibn Athīr, III, p. 84

2. Ṭabarī, I, pp. 2545-51

3. Ḥājī Mu'inuddīn, Khulafā'-i-Rāshidīn, p. 201.

sān in 30H./650-51 A. C. After a severe battle at Khhwārizm on the Oxus, the territory as far as Balkh and Tukhāristān was brought under the Caliph's suzerainty and horses, silken robes and various other articles of luxury were collected from the people of Māwarā'ūn Nahr as tributes.¹ Appointing Qays b. al-Hathīm as his deputy,² 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Amir returned to Baṣrah. Two years later the Muslims came into clash with the Turks and Khhāzārs to the west of the Caspian Sea when the Muslim Empire extended to the valley of Ādharbā'ijār. In 31H./651-52 the refugee Persian Emperor was killed by his own man near Merv and his son fled to China. Here in Persia the Muslims met with stiffer resistance than they had in Syria and the Arabs were impressed by the Persian culture. Thus the culture of the Semitic people came to be influenced and coloured by the Aryan culture in course of time.

Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī appointed by 'Umar governor of Baṣrah continued to hold the post as such for the first six years of 'Uthmān's Khhilāfat. An opposition party which had lodged complaints against the governor to 'Umar even but to no effect now gradually aggrandized its position and began to make propaganda against Abū Mūsā openly. On the occasion of raising an army of volunteers against the Kurds the Governor advocated *jihād*, his army to be marching on foot, but he himself rode on a Turkish charge with his personal provisions and supplies loaded on forty mules. His soldiers rebuked him to his face saying that there was no consistency between his speech and action. A delegation from this disgruntled soldiery waited on the Caliph and demanded the dismissal of the Governor. Conse-

1. *Khulafā'-i-Rāshidīn*, p. 201

2. *Ibid.*

quently he was replaced by 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amir in 29 H/649-50.¹

Acting according to the instruction of the dead Caliph, 'Uthmān replaced Mughirah, the Governor of Kūfāh, by Sa'd b. Abi Waqqās.² In 26H/646-7 A. C. Sa'd was deposed, the reason being that he had borrowed a huge sum of money from Ba'yt al-Māl. When 'Abd Allāh ibn Mas'ūd, the treasurer, pressed for reimbursement of the money, Sa'd expressed his inability to do so. This was brought to the notice of the Caliph who was incensed and deposing him appointed Walīd b 'Uqbah as Governor at Kūfah.

In the second year of 'Uthmān's reign when the Romans penetrated to Syria from Asia Minor, the garrison in Syria under Mu'āwiyah, the governor of that province, could not check their entrance and waited for reinforcements which came in the form of 6,000 volunteers from the eastern provinces under Salmān b. Rābi'ah. Caesar's troops were expelled and Muslims overran Asia Minor through Armenia and Ṭabaristān. Muslims reached as far as Tiflis and the Black Sea. Now the regular frontier troubles started between the Muslim troops of Damascus and the Byzantine forces of Constantinople.

So far battles had been fought on land but continuous Byzantine raids on the Syrian and Egyptian coasts led the Muslims to fight against them on water also. 'Umar being averse to naval warfare had not allowed Mu'āwiyah to take the risk of naval warfare, but now he secured permission for this from 'Uthmān and pushed ahead with conquests in Asia Minor often aided by naval expeditions. Cyprus

1. Ṭabarī, 2928

2. Ibn Athīr, III, 61

was the key town in the Eastern Mediterranean waters. Having mastery over this the Byzantines attacked the coastal towns of Egypt and Syria. Cyprus was attacked. The Muslim admiral, 'Abd Allāh b. Qays, being killed, Sufyān b. 'Awf Azdī took command of the naval force. Eastern Mediterranean waters with Cyprus ultimately fell in 28H/649. The Cypriots submitted and paid 7,000 dīnārs as annual tributes which they used to pay to the Byzantines but no poll tax was levied on them as Muslims could not guarantee them protection. They also agreed to supply information of the movement of the enemies to the Muslims.¹ The Cypriots however wavered in their allegiance and finally Cyprus was conquered in 33H/653-4 and the relation of the Cypriots with the Byzantines was finally cut off.² Meanwhile Arwad (Ardus) another island close to the Syrian coast was captured in 650 A. D.

Two years later the Byzantine fleet consisting of 500 ships was defeated seriously by 'Abd Allāh ibn abī Sarh, the Amīr al-Bahr, and repulsed with heavy loss.³ Later Rhodes was occupied and Saqliyah (Sicily) was sacked by Mu'awiyah's fleet.⁴

'Amr b. al-'Āṣ was the Governor of Egypt during the time of 'Umar. 'Abd Allāh b. Abī Sarh, the foster brother of 'Uthmān, was incharge of a portion of Egypt called Sa'id. There was a complaint of reduced collection of revenue from Egypt even during the time of 'Umar. 'Uthmān ordered for an increase in the revenue to which 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ replied that the she-camel could not give

1. Ibn Athīr, III, pp. 74-5.

2. *Ibn Athīr*, VI, 107

3. *Ibid.*, 91.

4. Baladhuri, 235/375 tr.

more milk than this thereupon he was removed from his office and 'Abd Allāh b. Abi Sarḥ was appointed governor in his place. As 'Amr was popular among the Egyptians, the people of Alexandria revolted on his removal in 25H/645-46, 'Amr was directed to suppress the revolt which he did successfully. In appreciation of this the Caliph desired to appoint him commander-in-chief in Egypt and place 'Abd Allāh in charge of finance but 'Amr declined to accept the offer. Ya'qūbī¹ writes that 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ converted the prisoners from among the rebels to slavery which displeased the Caliph who had set them free. Even after this 'Amr continued to be responsible for the administration of finance in Egypt. The same year 'Abd Allāh ibn Abī Sarḥ led a campaign against Tripoli. In 27H/647-48 trouble arose in the dual system of Government in Egypt. A rift grew between 'Abd Allāh and 'Amr, the commander of the Army, and in charge of finance respectively. After enquiring into the matter, 'Uthmān deposed 'Amr and appointed 'Abd Allāh.² 'Amr returned to Madīnah and 'Abd Allāh succeeded in doubling the revenue from 2,000,000 to 4,000,000 dirhams. 'Uthmān said to Amr "See at last the she-camel has given more milk" to which 'Amr replied, 'Yes it has but the young ones now remain hungry.'³ This annoyed 'Uthmān and his dismissal gave an excuse to the mischief mongers to accuse the Caliph of partiality and favouritism. The new Governor though less a soldier than a financier extended the territory westward in North Africa by conquering Tripoli and lands beyond Tri-

1. Ya'qūbi, II, 189.

2. Ibn Athīr, III, 69.

3. Ya'qūbi, II, 189.

poli including Barqah and threatened the Romans at Carthage (Qarṭājannah) the provincial capital of the Romans in North Africa. Then came a sudden halt in conquering new lands because of the outbreak of civil war at home.

The Byzantine force under the command of the Governor Gregory garrisoned in North Africa had made the life of the Muslims in Egypt miserable. On receiving reinforcements 'Abd Allāh ibn Sa'd attacked Gregory's troops, the commander being killed on the battle-field, the Byzantine troops though 120,000 in number took to flight and Carthage fell in 26H/646-7. 'Abd Allāh ibn Nāfi' b. Abū al-Qays was appointed governor of Ifriqiyah.

It is related that one-fifth of the booty received from Ifriqiyah was purchased by Marwān for 5,00,000 dīnārs. According to Ibn Athīr, 'Abd Allāh ibn Abi Sarḥ was given fifth of the one-fifth of the booty (2, 500,000 dinars)¹ obtained from the first campaign of Tripoli in consideration of his service as promised by the Caliph and Marwān the cousin of 'Uthmān purchased the one-fifth of the booty received from the whole of Ifriqiyah.² Muir says that after the fall of Carthage Ibn Abi Sarḥ was given one-fifth of the royal fifth of the booty and the rest which was sent to Madīnah was purchased by the Caliph's cousin, Marwān, at an inadequate price.³ When the Muslims protested 'Uthmān took back the reward from Ibn Abi Sarḥ.⁴ In 652 A. C. Nubia (al-Nubah) in the south was attacked and ultimately the war ended with treaty concluded with the Nubians.⁵

1. *Futuh al-Buldan*, 235

2. Cf. Hājī Mu'in al-Dīn Nadvī, *Khulafā'-l-Rāshidīn*, 1, p. 199

3. *Caliphate*, p. 204.

4. Tabari, p. 2815.

5. Baladhuri, pp. 237-8/379-81tr.

Later another attempt of the Romans with a fleet of vessels to attack Egypt proved futile due to personal efforts made by the Governor himself who meanwhile had accomplished a great achievement by establishing a fleet at Alexandria. In 31H/655 Ibn Abi Sarḥ, the Muslim admiral, with his squadron, consisting of 1,000 boats out of which only two hundred were owned by Muslims though inferior in equipment and lighter than those of the enemy fought desperately off Alexandria and the Lycian coast near Phoenix, and managed to destroy the Byzantine fleet under the Emperor Constans II, son of Heraclius. As this battle was fought furiously hand to hand combat with dagger and sword when the 'Arab ships grappled with the Byzantine ones, the battle came to be known as *dhāt (dhū) al-Sawārī* (the battle of the masts).

Although the Byzantine fleets were completely destroyed, yet there was hardly any tangible result because of disturbances at Madīnah itself at this time. The land force inexperienced as it was in naval warfare raised a hue and cry against 'Abd Allāh and denounced 'Uṭhmān for making him an admiral. Others also became jealous of his achievements. Among them were Muḥammad, son of Abū Bakr, and Muḥammad, son of Abū Ḥudhayfah who actually had no special reason for complaints and yet joined mischief-mongers and became inveterate enemies of 'Uṭhmān.

Dissensions :—The first six of 'Uṭhmān's twelve years *Khilāfat* passed in complete peace and tranquillity. The expansion of the empire, the amassing of wealth, the increase of pensions, the development of agriculture and trade and adoption of a good administrative policy, all helped towards the total prosperity of the country. Self-sufficiency and lux-

urious living became common. The overflow of wealth and living of luxurious life aggrieved some of the Companions of the Prophet who were still alive but were living a retired life. They reminded themselves of the saying of the Holy Prophet that the overflow of wealth would create dissension and hatred among the Muslims. Abū Dhar Ghaffārī who had received the title of Masīḥ al-Islām from the Prophet began to preach against luxurious living and declared that the amassing of superfluous wealth was unlawful. The Syrian Muslims were comparatively more affluent and, therefore, the preaching of Abū Dhar disturbed peace in Syria. ‘Uḥmān thereupon summoned him to Madīnah on the recommendation of Amīr Mu‘āwiyah. Meanwhile the Madinites had also come to indulge in luxurious living. Abū Dhar therefore could not accommodate himself even there and went to live in a small village nearby named Rabādhah.

The Prophet used to say that he did not bother about the poverty and helplessness of the Muslims but he was worried of the danger from worldly wealth which corrupts and corrodes the national spirit and leads to disintegration of the community and hasten selfish individuality. This actually was what happened later in the Khilāfat of ‘Uḥmān. Besides, there were several other important factors which promoted dissensions and chaos during the last six years of ‘Uḥmān’s rule.

Causes :

1. The companions of the Holy Prophet were either dead or were leading retired lives due to old age. Their sons often holding prominent office, did not have the same religious background or zeal as they had, and therefore they were not as good to the subject, as their fathers had been.

2. The Khilāfat and high administrative posts being in the hands of the Quraysh, the younger members of the tribe began to consider that these offices were theirs by hereditary rights whereas the members of other tribes claimed equal shares in the pensions, posts and positions with the Quraysh, as they had played no less important role in the conquest of new lands.

The Banu Hāshim did not like the rise of the Banu Umayyah and considered themselves the worthiest of all the tribes and clans for the Khilāfat and other offices of State. Various 'Arab tribes claimed equal right with the Quraysh in the matter of awards of pensions and posts. They therefore hated the Qurayshite officers and demanded equal rights with them. The 'Arab tribes, because of the new sense of Islamic brotherhood and equality, were impatient of control.

3. As was natural, 'Uthmān being a member of the Banu Umayyah had comparatively cordial feelings for his fellow tribesmen and therefore helped them with his own money but this was interpreted mischievously to the effect that the money was given from the public treasury.

4. Due to the vast territorial expansion from Kābul to Morocco the Arabs came to rule over many peoples belonging to various races and religions, the more important ones among them being the Jews, the Christians and the Magians. As natural they were developing the spirit of revenge but as openly they could not they started planning secretly to cut at the very roots of Islamic brotherhood by fomenting hatred and animosity between the Muslims themselves. And as 'Uthmān was kind-hearted and often overlooked offences such people, especially the Jews, exploited the situation.

The Magians wanted the transfer of the Khilāfat to such hands with whose co-operation they could improve their position and secure equal rights. The Jews wanted to spread dissensions among the Muslims with a view to undermine their power and to fish in the troubled water.

5. The success of a ruler depends mostly on the loyalty of the subjects and officers. As they were members of the new generations mainly, ‘Uthmān could not command the same respect and loyalty from them as had the earlier two caliphs, Abū Bakr and ‘Umar. The Caliph, therefore, had to appoint and depend mainly upon the members of his own clan. This has been interpreted as nepotism by mischief-mongers.

6. The new converts and the offsprings of Muslims by slave girls having little affection for the new faith were indifferent to the cause of the solidarity of Islām and they took leading parts in creating dissensions.

7. The diverse aims and objects of various groups of people antagonistic to ‘Uthmān led inevitably towards disunity and disruption. Interested persons and people therefore began to hatch plots against officers and they not only spoke ill of them but also started a campaign against the Caliph himself. ‘Uthmān tried to suppress this by his benevolent behaviour and magnanimity but the fire of such hatred and bitter ill-feeling could not be so easily extinguished. It required the exercise of force to which the Caliph was inevitably opposed.

All these various groups having different motives started working underground against ‘Uthmān simply because he was meek and simple and was averse to the use of force. Gradually the dimension of their activities increased and covered ‘Irāq, Egypt and ‘Arabia.

Certain European writers have tried to establish that 'Uthmān's government was secular in nature and opposed to the theocratic form of government that 'Alī, Ṭalḥah and Zubayr wanted to establish. The Madinite leaders, however, did not come out in the open and left the odious task to be performed by the provincials. But the fact is otherwise. "In the early days of Islam the Caliph was both the political and spiritual leader of the Muslims. His word was law : disobedience to his commands was a violation not only of the country's but of God's law."¹ Had 'Uthmān so desired, under the shadow of theocracy, he could have established an absolute monarchy. Although the Caliph according to the constitution was the absolute authority yet in practice even he had to yield to popular sentiment based very often on whims and fancies and took counsel with the leading men around him and he enjoined the same practice on his governors. Even a strict man like 'Umar had made concessions to the Basrites and Kufans due to their clamouring setting a bad example to his successor who despite yielding ground failed to control them. However much benevolent and impartial the Caliph might have been in his treatment, the very name of the Umayyads to whom he belonged and who were the enemies of the Prophet and his tribe the Hāshimītes in the beginning, was enough to antagonise the people. The words which the Prophet had used against them before their acceptance of Islām were repeated to denigrate 'Uthmān who promoted them to power and position. Thus the Umayyads were singled out and the machinations of the 'Arab malcontents succeeded in sapping the foundation of the Caliphate, first that of 'Uthmān, and then of 'Alī whose party was dragged on to tend itself to the Bedouin enemies of the Caliphate.

1. Khuda Bakhsh, *Islamic civilization*, I, 234

‘Uthmān became unpopular during the latter half of his Khilāfat due to antagonism between ‘Arab tribes and the Quraysh and the subsequent jealousy among the Quraysh themselves namely the Banū Hāshim and Banū Ummiyyah. Being an Umayyad he suffered from dual hatred of the ‘Arab tribes in general and of the Hāshimids in particular. The Arabs who had settled in the conquered countries were difficult to control. Those who settled in Syria were kept under control by Mu‘āwiyah who was too powerful for them but those who settled in Egypt and ‘Irāq remained uncurbed because their governors were not as strong and capable as Mu‘āwiyah was.

The movement was started by a Yamanite Jew named ‘Abd Allāh ibn Saba and known as Ibn Sawda (son of a black woman) born of a Negro mother. He came to Baṣrah during the period of the Governorship of ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Amir and accepted Islām but only to do harm to Islām under its cloak. He started his work by making propaganda against the governors appointed by ‘Uthmān. On learning of this ‘Abd Allāh expelled him. He then visited Kufah and Syria in turn but was expelled from these places also but not before he succeeded in forming groups of propagandists in Kufah and Baṣrah. Syria, however, remained safe from his nefarious design due to the prudence of Mu‘āwiyah and the strict discipline maintained by him. Reaching Egypt he made it his headquarter for propaganda and sent agents to Baṣrah and Kufah. He openly denounced the Caliph as an usurper claiming that the office of Khilāfat actually belonged to Ḥadrat ‘Alī whom he called waṣī or executor of the Prophet. This religious colouring of his propaganda enabled him to find many supporters specially among the ‘Arab tribes of ‘Irāq who were still Persian in

spirit and favourably disposed towards the hereditary principle of kingship. He also propagated that Muḥammad was to come again like the Messiah while 'Alī was his legate meanwhile,¹ whose exclusion from the Caliphate was a serious crime adverse to the interests of Islām. His preachings influenced the Magians deeply.

Among the revolutionists of Kūfah were chiefly Ashtar Nakh'ī, Ibn Dhakī al-Habkah, Jandab, Sa's'ah, Ibn al-Kawār, Kumayl and 'Umayr b. Ḍabī.² They raised their voices against the Quraysh and used various tactics to prepare the field against them. They had a special grudge against Sa'id b. 'Ās, the Governor of Kūfah. The nobles of Kūfah came in delegation to the Khalīfah and requested him for relieving them from the mischief-mongers. 'Uthmān sent ten of their ring-leaders on exile to Syria. Some ring-leaders of Baṣrah were also expelled. This instead of suppressing their rebellious designs helped them all the more in the work of propagandas.

Egypt became a hot bed of plots. The Jews were the worst enemies of Islām. A neo-Muslim 'Abd Allāh b. Saba of Jewish origin cleverly united the different discontented groups on a common platform and in order to make it more effective he tried to introduce strange doctrines in Islām which he propagated secretly. This, it is said, ultimately gave birth to the Shi'ite belief.

All these were grouped against 'Uthmān and in favour of uprooting the Umayyad, though the Egyptians preferred 'Alī to be Caliph, the Baṣrites supported Ṭalḥah and the

1. Cf. Ṭabarī, I, 2942 ; Levy, *The Social Structure of Islam*, Cambridge, 1957, p. 278 ; Muir, *Caliphate*, p. 2161.

2. Ibn Athīr, III, 108

Kufans sided with Zubayr. There were two groups in 'Irāq, one of which was against the Quraysh and the other anti-'Arab as a whole, 'Abd Allāh ibn Saba exploited the situation by posting his agents everywhere outwardly with a view to preach Islām but secretly with a motive to vex the governors and officials in all possible ways and to publicize the Caliph's nepotism and injustice.

In 31H/651-52, the Byzantines attacked the Egyptian coasts with 500 ships and 'Abd Allāh ibn Abī Sarḥ, the Amīr al-Baḥr, sailed against the Romans. Even in this critical situation, the so called revolutionists, did not stop their mischief-mongering. Muḥammad b. Abū Hudhayfah and Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr took a boat and accompanied the Muslim navy propagandising against 'Uthmān and 'Abd Allāh b. Abī Sarḥ. They said that it was needless to fight against the Romans when at Madīnah itself there was need of *jihād* against 'Uthmān himself who straying from the path of his predecessors dismissed the companions of the Prophet and appointed his own relations.¹

Charges against 'Uthmān : - The first half of his reign of peace and prosperity was followed by a period of chaos and confusion arresting public works at home and expansion of the rising state abroad. The charges of the maladministration which were voiced by the mischief-mongers to incite the 'Arab Bedouins and non-Arabs in the provinces were briefly the following :—

1. Companions of the Prophet like Abū Mūsā Ash'arī Mughīrah b. Shā'bah, 'Amr b. 'Āṣ, 'Ammār b. Yasir, 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd and 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Arqam were deposed and inefficient relations were appointed and against

1. Ibn Athīr, pp. 91, 92.

them the Caliph was not prepared to listen to the grievances of the people;

2. The stopping of the pension of 'Abd Allāh ibn Mas'ūd and others;

3. Embezzlement of public money and spending it in the construction of his palace and rewarding his own relatives;

4. The declaring of Baqī' as the State grazing field and disallowing the public from using it; •

5. The exclusive monopoly of the sale and purchase of certain articles in the market of Madīnah for himself and the purchase of date stones by his own agent;

6. Grant of lands to his own men;

7. The dishonouring of and harsh treatment with Abū Dhar Ghaffārī, 'Ammār b. Yasir, Jandab b. Janadah, 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd and 'Abbādah b. Thābit;

8. Burning of all the copies of the Qur'an except the one prepared by Zayd b. Thābit;

9. Deviation from certain religious practices of the Prophet and his immediate successors.

Now on the basis of historical data each of the above alleged charges may be analysed and scrutinized.

If the first charge of dismissal of the official is true of 'Uthmān, it was also true of 'Umar and 'Alī. Khālīd b. Walīd, Mughīrah b. Shā'bah and Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās had been deposed by 'Umar and all the officials even those who had conquered Tripoli, Armenia and Cyprus appointed by 'Uthmān were dismissed by 'Alī,

'Uthmān dismissed 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ, the Governor of Egypt, because he ill-treated the Dhimmis while suppressing revolts in Alexandria and sold their women and children into slavery and as in spite of the excavation of new canals he failed to increase the revenue which his successor

‘Abd Allāh b. Abī Sarḥ did.¹ The latter administered the country equally well and revenue increased to 14,000,000 dīnārs from 12,000,000. He achieved military victories both on land and sea as already discussed above. But agitation was carried on against ‘Uthmān by Muḥammad ibn Abū Hudhayfah, foster son of Abū Bakr, a very enthusiastic supporter of ‘Alī. It was under his leadership that the malcontents had withdrawn with ship from the sea battle fought against the Greeks on the Lycian coast on the plea that holy war had not been fought against the Caliph himself.

Sa’d ibn Abī Waqqās the conqueror of Persia had been appointed governor of Kūfah by the second Caliph, ‘Umar, but subsequently he had been removed on a minor charge and Mughīrah had been appointed by ‘Umar, who however on his death-bed desired the re-instatement of Sa’d in his office.² As such he was restored to his former post in 24H/645 A. D. by ‘Uthmān soon after his accession. After the expiry of a few months, a dispute arose between Sa’d and Ibn Mas‘ūd, the chancellor of the treasury, over the non-repayment of a loan taken by the governor.³ Sa’d was, therefore, recalled and Walīd ibn ‘Uqbah, a great warrior, was appointed in his stead in 24H/ 645-6. This newly appointed governor happened to be related to ‘Uthmān from his mother’s side. He was popular and led campaigns in the East successfully but he was a debauchee. As he was appointed in the early part of his caliphate when he is held to have been free from all charges by the

1. Ya‘qūbī, II, 89.

2. Ṭabarī, p. 2802.

3. *Ibid.*, 2811

critics themselves, this appointment had not been taken notice of by them. The impartiality of the Caliph is, however, proved by the fact that when Walid ibn 'Uqbah was accused of taking wine he was not only dismissed but also scourged and Sa'īd ibn 'Āṣ, a youth, another relative was appointed governor of Kūfa and Mesopotamia. He tried to establish discipline among the Bedouine and appointed the Quraysh in offices. Though this was sanctioned by the Caliph but not approved by the citizens. Even Sa'īd was dismissed as desired by the miscreants and Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī was appointed in his place.

Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī had been appointed governor of Baṣrah by Caliph 'Umar. He was accused of extravagance and partiality for the Quraysh so he was replaced by their own candidate a man of insignificant personality in 29H/642-50. This newly appointed governor, however, proved incompetent and was replaced shortly by 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Amir a cousin of the Caliph who justified his appointment by reconquering Persia and extending Muslim territory in the north and east as mentioned above. He proved to be an able ruler but when the licence and lawlessness that they enjoyed under the previous governor was curtailed by the new Governor, objections were raised against his appointment on the plea that he was related to the Caliph and that he had filled the local offices with his own men. The disloyal and rebellious spirit of the Kufans and Baṣrites, citizens of the cosmopolitan cities, was aggravated by the frequent changes of the governors.

'Ammār b. Yāsir had been deposed by 'Umar not by 'Uthmān. 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd had been deposed for no fault of his own but because 'Uthmān's ears had been poisoned against him by the people. 'Abd Allāh b. Arqam

who had been in charge of Bayt al-Māl from the time of Abū Bakr was replaced by Zayd b. Thābit, an experienced accountant because of the senility of former.

Walīd b. ‘Uqbah, Sa‘īd b. al-‘Āṣ, ‘Abd Allāh b. Abi Sarḥ and ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Amir though not known for piety like the officials of the time of ‘Umar al-Fārūq were very efficient and experienced as it is apparent from their administrative performance and military achievements. Walīd b. ‘Uqbah had been the tax-collector in the Jazīrah from the time of ‘Umar.¹ Sa‘īd b. al-‘Āṣ conquered Ṭabaristān and Armenia² while ‘Abd Allāh b. Abi Sarḥ conquered Tripoli and Cyprus.³ ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Amir, the Governor of Baṣrah, though young of tender age, conquered Kābul, Harāt, Sijistān and Nīshāpur.

Unlike Abū Bakr and ‘Umar the third caliph preferred his own relatives and clansmen and favoured them with positions of wealth, honour and significance. When charged with nepotism he collected his companions and enquired of them whether the Prophet had not preferred the Banū Hāshim over other Qurayshites and the Quraysh over other ‘Arabs. On their remaining silent, the caliph said that had he been in possession of the key of heaven he would have filled it with the Umayyads.⁴

‘Uthmān was the richest of all the companions of the Prophet and he spent greater portion of his wealth in advancing the interests of Islām. He showed kindness to his relatives and gave them money from his own purse. He neither took money from the public treasury for his

1. Tabari, p. 2813

2. Ibn Athīr, III, 84.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 84 ; *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, 235.

4. Ibn Sa‘d, III, section on ‘Uthmān ; Ibn Hanbal, I, p. 62.

own use nor did he give a single dirham from it to his relatives.¹

‘Uthmān recalled Ḥakam from Tā‘if and gave him 1,00,000 dirhams from his own purse and to his son Marwān with whom he married his own daughter he also gave 1,00,000 dirhams in dowry. When the fifth portion of the booty was received from North Africa, it was purchased for 5,00,000, dīnārs by Marwān. The story of his giving away one-fifth of the booty received from Tripoli to Marwān is baseless.

It is true that in most cases he limited the appointments of governors to his relatives although not certainly his near relatives and it is also a fact that most of them were competent and experienced officers of merit hence his choice should not be condemned *ipso facto*. Had he been partial to his relatives, as he has been accused of being, he would certainly not have welcomed complaints against his relatives and favourites and taken adverse decisions against them. He appointed his relatives as governors, both in the first and second halves of his reign but why he is condemned for doing so in the latter period only and not in the first half is not clear. The adverse criticism does not appear to be justified by facts.

There had been extension of the Empire on all sides in Asia and Africa and even naval wars of which Muslims had no previous experience were fought successfully against the Eastern Roman Empire. It proves positively the efficiency of the military administration which was the main part of the machinery of Government despite the Caliph being accused of appointing inefficient officials and slack-

1. Ṭabarī, p. 1953

ness in administration and of leaving all state affairs in the hands of his secretary Marwān. It is evident from historical accounts given above that the third Caliph did not make any change in the policy of appointments and that there was no genuineness in the charge levelled against him at a later stage merely for making propaganda against him. The appointment of governors from relatives was not an exception to the rule by ‘Uthmān alone but the same policy was later followed by Ḥadrat ‘Alī also. This was because along with experience and competence loyalty was an important qualification to be taken into consideration by both ‘Uthmān and ‘Alī in the matter of appointing governor and officials and for this the clan rivalry between the two sections of the Quraysh, the Banū Hāshim and Banū Ummyyah was greatly responsible as is apparent from the later developments. ‘Uthmān’s failure in establishing peace is based on the accounts of the court historians of the Abbasids who were out to denigrate the Umayyads.¹

In order to encourage Ibn Abī Sarḥ and to further the conquest in North Africa, ‘Uthmān promised to give him one-fifth of the fifth part of the booty from Tripoli. ‘Uthmān fulfilled his promise but when it was objected to by the people he withdrew it from Ibn Abī Sarḥ.² Zayd b. Thābit, it is alleged, was given 1,00,000 dirhams. Once there was left a good amount of money in the treasury after meeting expenditure of the State and Zayd b. Thābit was ordered to spend this in public work which he did in the extension of the mosque.³

1. Muir, *Caliphate*, pp. 419-20.

2. Tabarī, p. 2815

3. *Khulāsat al-Wafā*, p. 124

The stoppage of awarding pensions to certain officers is an administrative matter. On some misunderstanding 'Uthmān did stop the pension of 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd but when the latter died, his heirs received the entire amount of his pension totalling about twenty to twenty-five thousand dirhams.¹

The Caliph was fully justified in reserving Baqi' as the pasture land for the horses of the soldiers and camels collected in *Zakāt*. It had been used as such from the time of the Prophet. 'Uthmān did not use it for grazing his own animals as it has been alleged. At the time of accession to the *Khilāfat* he possessed camels and goats larger than others but at the time of his being accused of reserving the Baqi' he owned only two camels for use at the time of ḥajj

It is a false charge that he excluded others from the sale and purchase of certain articles in the market of Madīnah. He reserved the purchase of bits of dates to be used as fodder for the State camels.

Abū *Dhar* had not been exiled but he himself shunned wordly life and when he was asked to live with 'Uthmān he refused the offer saying that he did not need the world of 'Uthmān.²

'Abbādad b. Šāmat had not been exiled but he was in Syria in charge of booty till the end of 'Uthmān's reign. 'Ammār b. Yasir, Jandab b. Jahādah and 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd were treated harshly by 'Uthmān as Ubayy b. Ka'b, Ayyād b. *Ghanam* and Sa'd b. Waqqās had been punished by 'Umar on political grounds.

1. Ibn Sa'd, III, section on 'Abd Allāh ibn Mas'ūd.

2. *Ibid.*, section on Abū *Dhar*.

The inaccurate and interpolated copies of the Qur'ān had been recalled and burnt and several authentic copies of the Qur'an as compiled during the time of Abū Bakr were transcribed and circulated. After the expansion of the Islamic Empire in non-'Arab lands, due to there being many dialects in Arabia itself, trouble arose in the recitation of the Holy Book as well as difficulties with the script in copying of the Book.⁶ The reading of the Qur'ān at Kūfah was different from that at Baṣrah and that at Qinnasrīn from that at Damascus. Therefore copies of the Qur'an varied in script and pronunciation from the original standard copy prepared during the time of Caliph Abū Bakr basing on the revelations written down individually as by Zayd b. Thābit, the Prophet's scribe, and others at the instance of the Prophet and corroborating them with the oral tradition of the *ḥuffāẓ*. Academies which grew up during the time of the second Caliph followed the copying of the Qur'an in different script with variant recitations and thus recitations in the outlying provinces were not standard. The Prophet allowed for variety in recitation as suited the various dialects of Arabic but not variations in script. As a result, when there grew up great differences between the original copy prepared at the order of Abū Bakr which was in the possession of Ḥaḍrat Ḥafsah, daughter of 'Umar and wife of Prophet Muḥammad, and the copies later made and circulated in the non-'Arab lands during the time of Caliph 'Umar. Ḥudhayfah b. Yaman once noticed the variations in the recitation of the Qur'an made by the Persians and reported this to 'Uthmān and suggested steps to be taken to preserve the uniformity of recitations. Accordingly the Caliph appointed a corpus of experts from the Quraysh to look into the matter. Under their supervision the variations

were reconciled and an authentic copy was made basing on the original text. Duplicate copies were made and circulated to various parts of the Empire and unauthentic copies were recalled and committed to the flames. This act received general support excepting at al-Kūfah where 'Abd Allāh ibn Mas'ūd who was proud of his faultless recitation and of being a companion of the Prophet brought a charge for burning the holy words of God. The Kūfans made it a plea for their rebellion. During the *Khilāfat* of 'Alī when the Kūfans accused 'Uthmān of burning the Qur'an, the Caliph was incensed and said that had he been Caliph then he would have done the same.

The standardization of the script and pronunciation was undoubtedly a great service to Islām that 'Uthmān rendered thereby preserving the script used during the time of the Prophet himself. Had the unauthentic copies been allowed to remain in circulation they would have created confusion in the meaning and sense. Instead of his services being appreciated he was charged by mischief-mongers with burning the sacred book. Misrepresentation of the fact by the interested enemies of Islām aroused the rabble, especially the people living far away from the capital, against the Caliph. Even if this was a sacrilegious act the entire council should have been blamed rather than the Caliph alone.¹

'Uthmān followed strictly the religious practices and differed from others in the principles of *ijtahād* and though he was gentle and kind-hearted he did not hesitate to punish the sinners irrespective of their ranks and positions. On 'Umar's assassination his son 'Ubayd Allāh killed a daughter

1. Cf. Al-Kindī, Apology, 25 seq.

of Abū Lulū and a Persian neo-Muslim Hurmuzān as, according to him, they were involved in the plot. The Caliph being *walī* (guardian) of Hurmuzān who did not have any heir agreed to accept blood-wit and offered it from his own purse.¹ Thus he saved the Muslims from a civil war to be fought between the supporters of ‘Umar chiefly ‘Adi tribe and other Muslims. Walīd b. ‘Uqbah, the Governor of Kūfah, was dismissed on the charge of drinking wine but the case was prolonged because of the delay in producing proper evidences.²

‘Uthmān made every attempt to meet the demands of the people but their unjustified grievances went on multiplying. They levelled charges against his maladministration. He called a meeting of the *Majlis Shūrā* consisting of Amīr Mu‘āwiyah, ‘Abd Allāh ibn Abi Sarḥ, Sa‘īd b. al-‘Āṣ, ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ and a few others. After delivering a short speech ‘Uthmān consulted them about the ways and means for suppressing the revolt.

All the members present expressed the views. Mu‘āwiyah said that each one of the governors should take the responsibility of establishing peace within his own jurisdiction. Sa‘īd b. al-‘Āṣ suggested that as the disturbance was created by a particular group it could be suppressed by killing its ring-leaders. ‘Abd Allāh ibn Sa‘īd opined that as the trouble-makers were greedy they should be bought off. ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Āmir suggested that the rebellion would subside if the dissidents were sent to the frontier on a holy war against the enemies of Islām. ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ however said either the Caliph should rule according to the canons of justice or renounce *Khilāfat*. This he did

1. Ibn Athīr, III, pp. 58-9

2. Ṭabarī, p. 2849 ; *Fath al-Bārī*, VIII, p. 45

only to please the rebels. The Majlis Shūrā, however, did not find out ways and means to resolve the situation and 'Uthmān dispersed all the officials and himself began to devise a scheme to restore and establish peace.

The Kūfans who were jealous of the Governor closed the door of the city for Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ and forced him to return to Madīnah. The Caliph according to the wishes of the Kūfans appointed Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī in his place and said that he would try to mend their character upto the end.¹

On the suggestion made by Ṭalḥah, he sent a delegation to different cities and towns to enquire about their condition and invited those who had grievances against the officials or the Caliph to meet him at the time of ḥajj so that he could redress their grievances and compensate their losses.

While the Caliph was engaged in chalking out plans for reforms, the mischief-mongers were conspiring. The Egyptians, the Kūfans and the Basrites started for Madīnah at a time in disguise of pilgrims to force the Caliph to listen to their grievances. At a distance of two to three miles from Madīnah they pitched their tents and tried to negotiate with him through Ṭalḥah, Zubayr, Sa'd b. Abi Waqqās and 'Alī but each one of them refused to act as intermediaries. 'Uthmān asked them through 'Alī to return agreeing to meet their lawful grievances. The mischief-mongers returned. 'Uthmān in his Friday sermon explained the scheme of his reforms to be introduced to the satisfaction of the people. But soon afterwards the dissidents were found surrounding the city and crying for

1. Ṭabarī, p. 2936

revenge. 'Alī enquiring about the reason for their return learnt that the Egyptians on their way home met a messenger of the Caliph with a letter instructing the Governor of Egypt to kill them on their return. Therefore they returned to take revenge for the Caliph had broken his promise acting deceitfully.

Murder of 'Uthmān :- The Madinites, in spite of the town being in the grasp of the seditionists, were alert to the situation and took necessary precautionary measures to guard the life of the Caliph. An armed guard consisting of eighteen persons including the sons of 'Alī, Ṭalḥah, Zubayr and others was posted at the door of the Caliph and they were ordered not to unsheath their swords against the rebels unless the latter did so as the Caliph himself was averse to shedding Muslim blood. He issued orders that the Madinites should not raise their arms against the besiegers. It was a dilemma for the Madinites for the situation was critical but strict instructions of the Caliph prevented them from taking effective steps for his security. They were, however, prepared to lay down their lives in the defence of the Caliph if swords were unsheathed by the rebels. Most of the seditionists were true Muslims but had been duped by the clever propaganda and, therefore, the chief seditionists hesitated in unsheathing their swords and waited for an opportunity to attack 'Uthmān if he did not abdicate.

Apprehending the impending danger the Caliph decided very late to despatch urgent calls to Syria and other provinces for military help. The sands of time were however running out fast for the conspirators were not prepared to wait. There were no regular troops in the capital and the Caliph's

house was completely blockaded and the small guard suffered from thirst. The laxity in Syria had infected the youths of Makkah and Madīnah also. 'Uthmān's attempts to curb amusements at Madīnah had antagonised the youth who became indifferent at this hour of peril.

The house of 'Uthmān was still besieged by the rebels when the season of the ḥajj came and the Caliph ordered Ibn 'Abbās one of those who guarded his house to lead the pilgrim caravan to Makkah. 'Ā'ishah tried to detach her brother Muḥammad from the seditionists but he refused to accompany her to the pilgrimage. The pilgrim caravan left without apprehending that their absence from the city would be utilized by the plotters to accomplish their nefarious design. They had not gone far from the city that the ring-leaders once again pressed the Caliph for abdication.

'Uthmān who had already sought reinforcement from the provinces wrote to the pilgrims at Makkah apprising them about the situation. Thus he wanted to bring pressure upon the rebels from outside Madīnah and to end the mischief without bloodshed. But the ring-leaders were not to allow him so much time. On Friday the 18th Dhu'l hijjah 35 (17th June 656) some of the insurgents engaged the guards in a scuffle while a few others scaled the wall from one of the unprotected sides of the house and broke in. Muḥammad ibn Abū Bakr caught the Caliph by beard while he was reading the Holy Qur'ān but being overwhelmed with shame he shrank back and another callous person struck the aged Caliph with his sword. In defending him, his wife, Nā'ilah, the Kalbite lady lost several of her fingers. The Caliph died instantly. He was then 82 years of age. His mortal remains could not be buried till the third day and that also with great difficulty because the

town was still under the domination of rebels. Thus the third Caliph sacrificed his life in the cause of the Unity of Islām and in trying to save the Muslims from engaging themselves in internecine strife.

Achievements and Character :- Caliph ‘Uthmān was a successful ruler and a great conqueror. During his time wars were fought on three fronts east, north and west against the Persians, the Turks and the Byzantines. The territory was extended up to Ghaznah and the Black Sea in the east and north. The Byzantine invasion on Egypt both by land and sea was checked and the Byzantines were defeated for the first time in naval engagement also and Cyprus was conquered. They were defeated in North Africa as well. It proves positively the might of arms and the smoothness of military administration which was the main part of the machinery of government. The man who had dealt with the Byzantine hosts so successfully could have certainly done so with a handful of rebels but he preferred to give his own life for the cause of the solidarity of Islām which he was determined to preserve at all costs. But this was the reason for his downfall, for the policy of conciliation at all costs was shortsightedness and obviously unusual. The shedding of blood of a few hypocrite Muslims in the beginning would have possibly saved not only Caliph ‘Uthmān from his miserable fate but also the Muslims from later disruption. Here the Caliph was perhaps guided by the principle of the Prophet who had not taken any step against the hypocrite ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ubayy knowing fully well that he was out to injure Islām. ‘Uthmān lacked the stern authority of his predecessor ‘Umar as a result even his sensible measures faced derogatory criticism.

Caliph 'Uthmān gave his life for Muslims for whom Prophet Muḥammad had unbounded affection and like a true successor to the Prophet he spent every dirham on public welfares. He increased the stipends of the chiefs by the addition to each of one hundred dirhams while he himself did not draw even the usual allowance from the public treasury sanctioned to him and to the previous Caliphs. He had enough of his own¹ for his maintenance and to give to his relatives and to the needy. The one-fifth of the booty that he received was also entirely distributed at his order among the deserving persons by the Muslims themselves. In fulfilment of his promise that if Ibn Abī Sarḥ would conquer Tripoli he would be given one-twenty-fifth of the spoils, the general was given accordingly a hundred thousand dirhams; but when the Caliph was criticized for this favour he took this money back from him.¹

The Caliph enlarged the grand square of the Ka'bah by twenty yards in length and beautified the Masjid-i-Nabawī in 29 H/649-50. A huge dam called Mahrūz² was constructed to protect Madīnah from floods.³ Other public works like caravanserais, bridges and roads were constructed. A caravanserai was constructed on the road between Madīnah and Najd and there a market was also set up. A guest-house was constructed in Kūfah. Various wells like Bīr Sā'ib, Bīr 'Amr and Bīr 'Urays were dug.⁴ The Caliph looked after the welfare of the

1. Muhammad Ali, *Early Caliphate*, pp. 254-5

2. Ibn Athīr, III, 39; Ya'qubi, II, 191

3. *Wafa al-Wafa*, II, 217.

4. *Ibid.*, II, 254.

orphans, widows and destitutes and freed one slave every Friday.¹

The machinery of government which grew up in course of time as a peculiar Islamic institution worked smoothly during his regime. As a head of the Institution he had every right over the purse of Islām and to override the decision taken by the *Majlis Shūrā* but he never used a single dirham of the public treasury for his own person nor did he go against the decision of the council.

Caliph 'Uthmān always kept himself informed of the happenings in various parts of the Empire and gathered information on this account every Friday after prayer from the gatherings. He gave *easy access* to the complainant and took prompt steps to ameliorate their difficulties. Unlike 'Umar he was meek and tender hearted and tended to overlook the guilts of others. But being religious minded he hardly allowed any body to go unpunished after transgressing any of the religious practices. On receiving such complaints against some governors they were instantly deposed. At the time of the ḥajj he invited the people to submit complaints if they had any against his officers.

Due to his good administration the revenue of the country increased, the subsidy from Egypt alone amounted between two to four million dirhams. With the increase of revenue stipends of the Muslims were also increased. Those who were paid allowances in Ramadān were also given ration. The salary of the soldiers was also increased. In newly conquered countries military camps were founded and for keeping the Byzantines away from African coasts naval power was

1. Mu'īnuddin Nadvī, *Tā'rikh-i-Islām*, p. 299.

improved. The Umayyads were known for the might of their arms which they proved under the patronage of 'Uthmān.

Another important service to Islām and Muslims that the Prophet's deputy 'Uthmān did was the standardization of the holy Qur'an, which had been collected and arranged during the time of Abū Bakr, and the circulation of its true copies to various parts of the Empire.

In the simplicity of his life and devotion 'Uthmān followed the footsteps of the previous two caliphs. Riches had little fascination for him. He used plain dress and took simple food. 'Uthmān joined the fold of Islām as a millionaire but died as a poor man. He was modest and honest, sincere and firm and himself conducted the daily prayers, and despite of his old age, he was regular in the performance of all prayers including the midnight one. 'Uthmān had a great speciality in the recitation of the Qur'an which he had learnt from the Prophet himself. It is related by some that he himself had prepared a copy of the Qur'an. He was a good scribe though not a great orator. Although in theology he might have been equal to 'Umar and 'Alī, in recording the Qur'an and Hadīth he was second only to Zayd ibn Thābit.¹

IV—'ALĪ ABŪ TURĀB
(June 656—January 661)

Early Life :—'Alī the son of Abū Ṭālib, who was known as Abū'l Ḥasan and called Abū Turāb by his cousin Prophet

1. *Kanzu'l 'Ummāl*, VI, p. 172; *Tadhkirat al-Huffāz*, I, p. 8; *Musnad Aḥmad*, I, p. 65.

Muḥammad, was born in the thirteenth year of the Elephant. He came of the clan of the Banū Hāshim and was thirty years junior to Muḥammad. His mother Fāṭimah was very kind to Muḥammad in return the latter loved 'Alī and the other children of Fāṭimah. As economically Abū Ṭālib was not solvent 'Alī was brought up by Muḥammad. 'Alī accepted Islām at the age of ten after Khadījah, Abū Bakr and Zayd ibn Ḥārith the fourth in order of seniority but first among the youth. In the fourth year of his prophethood when Muḥammad addressed his relatives from the hill of Ṣafā and invited them to his help it was 'Alī alone from among his relatives who responded to his call and promised to support him with all his might. 'Alī slept in the bed of the Prophet the night the latter left Makkah. 'Alī was apprehended but set free and after clearing out the account of the Prophet with whom the people had deposited some valuables he set out for Madīnah to join Muḥammad there at the age of twenty-three.

Two years later Muḥammad gave 'Alī in marriage his youngest daughter Fāṭimah who was about twenty years old and from their marriage were born three sons Ḥasan, Ḥusayn and Muḥsin and two daughters Zaynab and Umm Kulthūm. 'Alī's third son died in infancy and his wife Fāṭimah at the early age of twenty-nine.

'Alī being young and poor could not render the financial aid to Islām as had been done by the first three Caliphs but he was known for his daring and valour which he displayed in many of the feats like Badr, Uhud, the Ditch, Hunayn, Banī Qurayzah, etc. In the battle of Badr he was the standard bearer of the Prophet as also in other battles. At Uhud when Muṣ'ab, the standard bearer of Islām, was killed 'Alī took over the standard

and dashing forward killed the standard bearer of the enemy and gained the epithet *La fata illa 'Ali* (there is no youth but 'Alī). At the siege of Banū Qurayzah also he acted as standard bearer of Muḥammad. He participated in the battles of Badr in single combat and killed his opponent. In a duel on another occasion he also killed the proud warrior of Arabia, 'Amr ibn 'Abd Zudd, when he crossed the trench of Madīnah.¹ At Ḥudaybiyah he acted as secretary to the Prophet. He was also active on all other occasions except Tabūk expedition in which he did not participate because of the illness of his wife Fāṭimah. He was sent on mission to Yaman and posted there as chief Qādī. He tended Prophet Muḥammad when he was on his death bed and made the funeral arrangements after his death while Abū Bakr and 'Umar and other companions engaged themselves in managing the affairs of the State.

'Alī had no special grudge against any of the three Caliphs. He delayed for six months in taking the oath of fealty to Abū Bakr, most probably, in sympathy for his wife Fāṭimah who felt aggrieved when she was refused her share in the Fadak by the first Caliph. But this displeasure was temporary because when Madīnah was attacked by apostates 'Alī took active part in the defence of the city. After Fāṭimah's death 'Alī participated in all state affairs as an adviser to the Caliph. During 'Umar's *Khilāfat* he was a prominent member of the *Majlis Shūrā*. The attachment between the two was further strengthened when 'Umar married his daughter Umm Kulthūm. His name was included by 'Umar in the list of six nominees from among whom one was to be elected Caliph after 'Umar's

1. Ibn Sa'd, IV, 19, 20.

death and when 'Uthmān was elected he readily took the oath of allegiance at his hand. For the protection of 'Uthmān he posted his own son Ḥasan on guard when the Caliph's house was besieged by the dissidents.

Election :- After the murder of 'Uthmān, anarchy prevailed in Madīnah and the Syrian troops which Mu'āwiyah had sent to help turned back midway. Stealthly a citizen of Madīnah carried the severed fingers of the Caliph's wife Nā'ilah wrapped in the blood stained shirt of 'Uthmān to Damascus. The relatives and defenders of 'Uthmān fled to Makkah. Of the three groups of insurgents, Egyptians, Kufans and Basrites, that of Ibn Sabā (Egypt) was the most powerful. Ibn Sabā led the daily prayers. On the fifth day before the miscreants could depart they insisted that the Madīnites should elect their Caliph. 'Alī wanted to hold back and was prepared to swear allegiance to either Ṭalḥah or Zubayr but he was forced to accept the office and the insurgents including Ibn Sabā took the oath of fealty on the sixth day of 'Uthmān's murder (the 24th Dhu'l hijjah 35/23rd June 656) and most of the dignitaries of Madīnah including Ṭalḥah and Zubayr also swore allegiance to him.¹ Though the election had not been free yet even if there would have been any election the choice would inevitably have been the same because during the time of the election of Ḥadrat 'Uthmān the final choice had been between 'Uthmān and 'Alī. Even Ṭalḥah and Zubayr who would have been his rivals in a free election did not object to his election under the circumstances and when 'Alī offered to pledge fealty to either Zubayr or Ṭalḥah they refrained from taking such responsibility because they were aware of the consequences of the recent tragedy. 'Alī too knew the conse-

1. Ṭabarī, VI, 3066 ; Ibn Athīr, III, 74; Ibn Sa'd, III, 20.

quences but he was helpless. Once during his conversation with 'Uthmān, 'Alī has said, "Blood once shed, will not cease to flow until the Judgment Day. Right blotted out, treason will rage like foaming waves of the sea."¹ There were some adherents of 'Uthmān who did not take the oath of fealty but 'Alī did not press them. Many insurgents then departed from Madīnah and some mingled in the army of the new Caliph.

Alī's Difficulties :- The Khilāfat that 'Alī inherited was more troublesome than the one held by Abū Bakr. During the time of Abū Bakr there was unity among the members of the inner circle, companions of the Prophet, but they became disunited during the days of 'Alī because of the murder of 'Uthmān. 'Alī had now a difficult job to perform. To the already existing contempt between the Quraysh and other Arab tribes was added the cry of vengeance on the assassins of 'Uthmān. Even Ṭalhah and Zubayr pressed him to wreak vengeance upon the murderers of 'Uthmān. The deportation of Abū Dhar had annoyed a section of people who hated the un-Islamic activities of the Umayyads under 'Uthmān and pleaded for Ḥaḍrat 'Alī's nomination. Ḥaḍrat 'Uthmān had been murdered at their instigations and hence they opposed punishment to be inflicted on the murderers of 'Uthmān. This was a problem for 'Alī. Except Nā'ilah there was no eye witness to the Caliph's assassination. She recognized only Muḥammad ibn Abū Bakr who was ashamed of 'Uthmān's protest and did not join in the actual act of assassination. 'Alī was not indifferent to what Ṭalhah, Zubayr and others said but for the present the Badouin outlaws who

1. Muir, *Caliphate*, 219.

were impatient of the Qurayshite control were out as they did during the life time of Prophet Muḥammad to finish Islām and were out of his control.¹ The Bedouins were joined by the slaves used as domestic servants, guards of treasury and mansions of the rich in their nefarious design.

The opposition party argued that the assassins should be brought to book before every thing else and this became the root of dissensions within the Muslim community. The sword unsheathed against ‘Uthmān opened the door of dissensions amongst the Muslims the warning of which had been given by the third Caliph. Ibn Sabā succeeded in undermining the power of Islām which was only possible to retain with unity. Like the first Caliph ‘Alī was confronted with difficulties. Prompt and firm action as had been taken by Abū Bakr would have had the desired effect. He would have been joined in by all better classes of Muslims and disunity and disruption would not have been fomented within the Islamic brotherhood.

Thus setting the ball rolling on the way to disruption in Muslim society the seditionists returned with news of their achievements to their respective places and ‘Alī was left to extinguish the fire of disunity. Simultaneously the news of the assassination of the third Caliph spread far and wide and his blood stained clothes and the severed fingers of Nā’ilah were carried to Damascus and exhibited in the chief Mosque from the pulpit to inspire the audience to avenge the Caliph. ‘Alī began to receive reports from every where of retribution against the assassins. The Madinites were also of the same view.

1. Tabarī, VI, 3066 ; Cf. Muir, *Caliphate*, 235

The Caliph himself was desirous of putting the assassins under capital punishment but he had his own difficulties as the head of the State. Establishment of peace was his main concern lest the continuation of anarchy would have attracted the attention of foreigners. In the plot which had been hatched against 'Uthmān the regicides of Fustāt, Baṣrah and Kūfah were involved and meanwhile many of them including Ashtar and 'Ammār had joined the Caliph's army. In order to find out the real culprits out of so many he required time as well peace because any action against them without establishing his *Khilāfat* firmly would have meant his deposition. This risk he feared to take though such an example had already been set up by Abū Bakr. Unfortunately some of the miscreants had joined 'Alī and this created misunderstanding among the companions of the Prophet and resulted in the battle of Jamal.

Change of Governors :—After assuming regnal power, 'Alī turned his attention towards solidarity of the Empire whose foundation had been shaken by the insurgents. Instead of bringing the regicides to book and confirming the governors and higher officials to their former positions he planned in 36H/656-7 to change the governors which brought him in conflict with many companions of the Prophet and a strong governor like Mu'wāiyah. Due to the lack of his political sagacity and insight 'Alī had to waste all his energies in fighting civil war which has been avoided by Caliph 'Uthmān at the cost of his own life.

It appears that 'Alī apprehended danger from Mu'ā-wiyah ibn Abī Sufyān who had been appointed governor of Syria by the second Caliph, 'Umar al-Fāruq, and had gained much power and strength during the time of the third Caliph, 'Uthmān al-Ghanī. To allay suspicion from his heart 'Alī

planned to change all the governors against the sound advice of Mughīrah b. Sh‘abah and Ibn ‘Abbās.¹ The former advised him to postpone the matter till his succession was recognised throughout the *Khilāfat* the latter told him not to disturb Mu‘āwiyah on whose responsibility was the whole of Syria and further because he had held his office long before ‘Uthmān had become Caliph. But ‘Alī did not listen to them. Qays b. Sa‘d was appointed governor of Fustāt and he controlled the situation. ‘Uthmān ibn Ḥanīf was appointed to replace Ibn ‘Āmir governor of Baṣrah and Suhayl ibn Ḥanīf to replace Mu‘āwiyah. The Governors of Kūfah and Damascus refused to quit the offices for the new nominees. When ‘Alī urged them for the second time, the governor of Kūfah submitted to his order but Mu‘āwiyah did not. Meanwhile Mu‘āwiyah was ordered to pay allegiance to ‘Alī as Caliph. But a blank letter was received from him through ‘Alī’s messenger Qabīṣah a Bedawi who informed ‘Alī about the gatherings of about 60,000 persons round the blood-stained clothes of ‘Uthmān exhibited at the Chief Mosque of Damascus. They were bent upon avenging the death of ‘Uthmān. This shocked ‘Alī who was innocent of the blood of ‘Uthmān.²

His attempt to supersede Mu‘āwiyah and delay in putting the insurgents to task were given colour of collusion with the regicides. This came as a shock to ‘Alī who was also accused of appointing governors from among his relatives. In his circumstances he had been bound to do so as he could not have confidence in others in this confused and chaotic period. Further the appointment of governors from outside the house of Banū Hāshim might have been opposed by the

1. Ibn Athīr, III, 77 ; *Akḥbār al-Ṭawāl*, 151.

2. Tabarī, VI, 3091.

miscreants whose leader Ibn Sabā had given out that he reposed confidence only in the house of Hāshim.

On the receipt of the ultimatum 'Alī addressed the Madinites about the apprehending danger from Syria which once allowed to be ruled independently other provinces would follow its suit. He therefore had to make preparations for a campaign against Syria. This was the first time that swords of Muslims were to be unsheathed against fellow Muslims. Some companions were opposed to this idea, others became neutral. Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, Usamah b. Zayd, Muḥammad b. Muslimah etc.¹ when approached refused to raise arms against Mu'āwiyah. Before the Syrian campaign was led 'Alī was confronted with heavy task.

Three months had passed since the murder of 'Uthmān and there was insistent demand for retribution. Pressure was also brought by Ṭalhah and Zubayr for this.² 'Alī expressed his inability to do so without establishing complete peace which could not satisfy them and they left for Makkah to perform the lesser pilgrimage. On the way they met 'Ā'ishah who was returning from Makkah after the pilgrimage. On learning of 'Uthmān's assassination and the chaotic situation of Madīnah 'Ā'ishah cried, "They have murdered the Caliph. I will avenge his blood."³ They decided at Makkah to avenge the murdered Caliph and waited in the hope that 'Alī would also agree to do so. 'Ā'ishah was joined by one thousand Makkans and Madinites, and two thousand other

1. *Akḥbār al-Tawāl*, 1952

2. His mother was a sister of 'Abd Allāh, the father of the Prophet. Around his tomb a small village grew near Baṣrah.

3. Ṭabarī, VI, 3097-99.

Arabs.¹ Meanwhile 'Alī declared war against Mu'āwiyah ; and Ṭalḥah and Zubayr and their fellows became disappointed and on the advice of 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Āmir, the ex-governor of Baṣrah, they decided to proceed to Baṣrah in Ṣafar two months after 'Alī's election with a view to reform and punish the culprits first at Baṣrah, then at Kūfah and finally at Fustāṭ. They had no base or selfish motive against the Khilāfat of 'Alī. It devolved upon them to fight against the assassins of the Caliph. 'Ā'ishah did not care for her own brother 'Abd Allāh who was among the miscreants. Right had been confounded with wrong and misunderstanding and misapprehension took place. It became difficult for the people to decide which way they were to take. In spite of the purity of their motives, they were undoubtedly wrong in their judgment to take the law in their hands in the presence of a rightful Caliph, the political and religious head. It was his responsibility to bring the culprits to task. Further the situation aggravated because insurgents had joined both the parties to add fuel to the fire.

Battle of Jamal :- 'Ā'ishah, Ṭalḥah and Zubayr reached Baṣrah at the head of 3,000 strong including one thousand Madinites and Makkans. 'Uthmān ibn Ḥanīf, the Governor of Baṣrah, came out to give them battle. 'Ā'ishah wanted to arrest the assassins of 'Uthmān and to settle the affairs mutually and peacefully but those who were in the army of the Governor attacked the Makkan army and the fighting began. Ibn Ḥanīf was taken prisoner and the Basrites were defeated. Baṣrah itself, a military colony in 'Irāq, fell on 24th Rabi' II, 36 (19th Oct., 656). A large number of the participants in the assassination of 'Uthmān were caught and killed but the Governor was set free.

1. Ibn Aṭhīr, III, 90

Learning this 'Alī retraced his steps from the Syrian campaign towards Kūfah, another military colony of 'Irāq, in October 656. The Kūfan Governor Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī did not agree to 'Alī's policy and refused to join him in his attack on Baṣrah. He was dismissed and the Kūfan regicides joined 'Alī's troops encamped at Dhū Qar. 'Alī who was a man of compromise negotiated for peace sending Qa'qa' to Ṭalḥah and Zubayr. They pressed for vengeance on the miscreants and 'Alī agreed to do so in favourable times. Negotiations for peace continued for several days and on the promise that the guilty would be brought to book, Ṭalḥah, Zubayr and 'Ā'ishah agreed to submit.

'Alī's army recruited from the Bedouins comprised a great number of regicides. The Chiefs of the Sabā'ī party namely Ashtar, Nakh'i, Ibn Sawda, Khalid b. Balham etc. did not like peace which meant their own destruction.¹ So one night they attacked the army of 'Alī and 'Ā'ishah while the troops of both the parties were asleep. In the darkness of the night they could not know the development and each party thought that the other had played mischief and fighting ensued in its full swing. Neither 'Alī nor 'Ā'ishah and her party knew how this happened. At the request of 'Alī, Zubayr left the battle ground but was attacked and killed by Amru b. Jamruz while praying.² Ṭalḥah died of a wound from an arrow. 'Alī riding on horseback and 'Ā'ishah on camel tried to stop the fighting but to no avail. Thus for the first time Muslims were killing Muslims. The miscreants who were averse to peace fought vehemently because peace and 'Alī's defeat meant their own destruction.

1. Ṭabarī, VI, 3180

2. *Ibid.*, VI, 3184; *Akhbār al-Tawāl*, 158

‘Ā’ishah became the target of attack by the regicides and her camel was killed after which the battle became known as Battle of the Camel (*Jamal*). About 4,700 persons gave their lives in defending the Umm al-Mu’minīn.¹ Escorted by forty maids and her own brother, Muḥammad, she was sent to Makkah where she performed the lesser pilgrimage and retired to Madīnah never to take part in politics. She died twenty-two years after at the age of sixty-six on 12th Sha‘bān, 58H/13th July, 678. This battle was fought on 12th Jumādā al-Thānī 36H/9th Dec. 656, because of misunderstanding between ‘Ā’ishah and ‘Alī. About 10,000 souls were killed in the battle. Though ‘Alī’s power was established at Madīnah, Makkah, Baṣrah and Kūfah, yet this was the victory of the regicides. ‘Alī therefore had to depend henceforward on them while Syria still remained in the hands of Mu‘āwiyah.

Battle of Siffin :- After the battle of Jamal, ‘Alī appointed Qays b. Sa’d governor of Egypt, Sahl b. Ḥanīf, of the Ḥijāz and ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Abbās of Baṣrah with Ziyad in charge of the treasury and transferred his capital from Madīnah to Kūfah a central place in the Empire, where he could find more supporters than at Madīnah, in Rajab 36/January 657. Henceforward the centre of material and cultural interests shifted from Madīnah to the provincial towns and the Madīnites including the old companions of the Prophet lost all hold on the Khilāfat and began to devote their time exclusively to learning and studying the traditions which a century later took a written form. Madīnah became free from political confu-

1. Ya‘qūbī, II, 212 ; Tabarī, VI, 3158

sion and intrigue but 'Alī was deprived of the loyalty of the citizens of Madīnah and loyalty and respect which the previous Caliphs commanded.

After settling his affairs in Arabia and 'Irāq though not very successfully and peacefully he wanted to do the same in Syria. But as Syria was in possession of Mu'āwiyah who had refused to submit by sending a blank reply and message that 60,000 Syrians had gathered round the blood-stained clothes of Caliph 'Uthmān at Damascus demanding vengeance and holding 'Alī responsible for his assassination. At home also he did not command complete allegiance as already mentioned earlier. Al-Ashtar was heard talking among his friends at Baṣrah remarking as to what was the good of killing 'Uthmān, Ṭalḥah and Zubayr. The sons of 'Abbās and cousins of 'Alī had been posted in Madīnah, Makkah, Yaman and even in Baṣrah. The Quraysh were still in a dominating position. It was sheer misfortune that dragged 'Alī into the camp which was opposed to the Quraysh and the 'Arab aristocracy and, indirectly, he was to champion the cause of the enemies of the Khilāfat although he was not yet liked by certain sections of the people of Baṣrah and Kūfah. On account of their fickle-mindedness and intrigues, 'Alī could not be consistent in his own stand. He had a dilemma before him. The Caliph wanted to take revenge for the blood of innocent 'Uthmān from those who, in confusion, had joined his army and with whose help he could crush a rival like Mu'āwiyah. A good number of the servile classes of Baṣrah had gone to the Persian border and occupied Sijistān. Mu'āwiyah tried to detach Qays son of Sa'd b. 'Ubādah from 'Alī but failed and spread a rumour that Qays was temporizing with the Egyptian

regicides. 'Alī took action on this and replaced him by Muḥammad ibn Abū Bakr.

Mu'āwiyah as a governor of Syria had proved his administrative ability by maintaining peace at home and extending his authority abroad in North Africa and Mediterranean islands and by conquering lands from the Romans in Central Asia and Asia Minor. He had become very powerful and had an astute adviser in 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ, the conqueror of Egypt, who retired to Palestine during the attack on 'Uthmān. Because of his unfriendly attitude towards 'Uthmān he was not liked by Mu'āwiyah in the beginning. But Ḥudhāfah's escape to the Romans and 'Alī's threatening letter compelled Mu'āwiyah to seek 'Amr's friendship. 'Amr agreed to support him on the written promise of the governorship of Egypt after his success against 'Alī.¹

Mu'āwiyah's coalition with 'Amr and 'Alī's recalling of Qays who was busy in establishing peace in Egypt strengthened the position of the Syrian Chief. The removal of Ṭalḥah and Zubayr from the scene was also advantageous for Mu'āwiyah because they would have been the only possible rivals of the Governor of Syria. His position was safe, he asserted the supremacy of the Quraysh and was opposed to the hostile faction to 'Uthmān. He was consistent in his stand. The only peaceful solution of the problem with which 'Alī was confronted was to allow Mu'āwiyah create an independent principality in Syria but the idea of disintegration of the Caliphate was opposed to the Islamic unity the ruling sentiment of the nation.

'Alī was, therefore, not prepared to accept this situation. Just at the inception of his Khilāfat he asked Mu'āwiyah to vacate

1. *Akhbār al-Tawāl*, 168.

his office as mentioned above and after the battle of *Jamal* he wrote to him to submit as all those who had taken oath of allegiance to the previous Caliphs had taken *ba'yt* at his hands too. He added further that after his submission he might present before the council the case of 'Uthmān's murder which would be decided in accordance with the law of the Qur'an and Ḥadīth.¹

Mu'āwiyah, however, found a plea in the assassination of the third Caliph to whom he was related by blood and 'Alī's inaction in the matter to refuse to do so. The blood-stained cloth of 'Uthmān was hung upon the pulpit which influenced a demand for revenge in all those who viewed it. The battle of *Jamal*, the responsibility of which goes to the assassins of 'Uthmān, a larger number of whom had joined the army of 'Alī, strengthened the stand of Mu'āwiyah who accused 'Alī of shielding the miscreants. Sharḥbil b. Simt al-Kindi an influential personality of Syria was won over by Mu'āwiyah and the former toured the entire country of Syria and arose public opinion in favour of Mu'āwiyah and against 'Alī accusing the latter to be in league with the assassins of 'Uthmān.² Circumstances were such that both 'Alī and Mu'āwiyah had reasons for mistrust each other and the question now arose whether 'Irāq or Syria should be supreme.

'Alī on receiving reports from his messenger, Jarīr b. 'Abd Allāh, marched at the head of 80,000, 'Irāqis including 700 persons who had taken pledge, at Ḥudaybiyah and Mu'āwiyah mustered Syrian troops which greatly outnumbered the opposition party. The two armies met at Ṣiffīn on the western

1. *Akḥbār al-Tawāl* 167

2. Ṭabari, VI, 2355.

bank of the Euphrates north-east of Hims and west of Raqqa (Nicephorium). 'Alī, as usual, negotiated for amicable settlement but Mu'āwiyah reiterated retribution against 'Uthmān's assassins, one month's negotiations failed and on the challenge of Malik al-Ashtar an enthusiastic supporter of 'Alī individual combats began half-heartedly and the skirmishes dragged on for more than a month. Nothing serious took place in the holy month of Muḥarram. The general engagement took place on the 11th Ṣafar 37 (29th July, 657) and continued for two and a half days. Forty thousand Syrians and twenty-five thousand 'Irāqīs were killed. On the third day (the morning after *laylat al-Ḥarīr*) when 'Alī's forces were on the point of victory they saw a section of Mu'āwiyah's troops advancing with leaves of the Qur'an fixed on the points of their lances and thrust in the air on the advice of Mu'āwiyah's commander 'Amr ibn al-'Ās.¹ This was an appeal that decision of the Qur'an should be final but the way it was done can hardly be appreciated by Muslims. Faḍl b. Adham, Shariḥ Judhāmī and Warqā' b. Ma'mar cried to the 'Alī's force at the top of their voice 'If battle would be continued the Syrian Muslims would be overpowered by the Byzantines and the 'Irāqī Muslims by the Persians. So let the Qur'an decide between us.'"² The contending parties on hearing the call to the Qur'an sheathed their swords though 'Alī himself was averse to stop fighting. Negotiations began and two arbitrators were appointed, one from each side, to give an unanimous verdict based on the authority of the Qur'an. 'Alī's troops selected Abū Mūsā Ash'arī, the Governor of Kūfah, who had refused

1, *Akḥbār al-Tawāl*, 201; Ṭabarī, VI, 3329

2. *Ibid*, 202, 202, 204.

to join 'Alī's force against Ṭalḥah, Zubayr and 'Ā'ishah and was living a secluded life as their representative to which 'Alī agreed reluctantly and Mu'āwiyah appointed 'Amr b, al-'Ās a shrewd politician to act as arbitrator. To the arbitrators and their families was guaranteed safety of life and property and they on their parts swore to decide righteously and deliver the judgment within six months or more if they so required before Ramaḍān¹. This was announced at Dumat al-Jandal. 'Alī returned to Kūfah and Mu'āwiyah to Damascus after the great slaughter in the field of Ṣiffīn and conclusion of a hollow truce. While Mu'āwiyah was satisfied, 'Alī was not and the non-Quraysh tribes who wanted deliverance from the Quraysh could expect no gain from the truce which was concluded to decide between the two parties of the Quraysh.

Ash'arī, though pious, was of lukewarm in loyalty to 'Alī while 'Amr known for his political sagacity was firmly attached to Mu'āwiyah. The very fact of coming to settlement by arbitration was a victory of Mu'āwiyah because it lowered the position of 'Alī and raised Mu'āwiyah to an equal status to the reigning Caliph.

There are various views² about the decision of the arbitrators.³ The current view of the 'Abbāsīd historians who were always out to denigrate the cause of the Umayyads is that both the arbitrators, armed with four hundred witnesses each, held their session in Sha'bān 37/ January 658 at Adhruh⁴ or Dumat al-Jandal⁵ half-way between Ma'an

1. *Akḥbār al-Ṭawāl* 205 ; Ṭabarī, 3332

2. Cf. Ṭabarī, I, 3340-60 ; Mas'ūdī, IV, 392-402; Fakhrī, 127-39 ; Ya'qūbī, II, 220-22 quoted by Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, 181.

3. Cf. Dinawari, pp. 206-8 for the document.

4. Hitti, 181

5. Muhammad Ali, 304 ; Muir, *The Caliphate*, 269

and Petra on the caravan route of Damascus to Madīnah between 'Irāq and Syria. There had gathered chiefs from Arabia, 'Irāq and Syria. The meeting was also attended by a number of companions of the Prophet as witnesses. Both arbitrators agreed to depose 'Alī and Mu'āwiyah and a new caliph to be elected by masses but when Ash'arī stood and announced the deposition of 'Alī, 'Amr stood and confirmed Mu'āwiyah.¹ The later part of the story however seems to have been fabricated by the 'Abbāsīd historians to defame the Umayyads and their supporter 'Amr b. al-'Ās. The decision was, however, that both were ineligible for the Khilāfat and that there should be free election which decision went against 'Alī and in favour of Mu'āwiyah as 'Alī was in possession of the Khilāfat from which he could be deposed but on the other hand his rival had nothing whatsoever to lose. As a result Mu'āwiyah won the race in politics and retained his office of governorship which did not certainly improve the situation. Henceforward Mu'āwiyah was saluted as Khalīfah by his troops² the formal oath taking ceremony however took place at Jerusalem later in July 660.

The Kharijis : At the sight of pages of the Qur'an fixed on the points of lances 'Alī's troops² came to be divided into two groups. 'Alī himself was opposed to stop fighting but being persuaded by his men ordered them to sheath their sword. This was not liked by a group of his men. While 'Alī was on his way to Kūfah from Ṣiffīn a band of 2,000 persons belonging mainly to the clans of Tamīm, Bakr and Hamadān from his army deserted him with a slogan *La ḥukma illa lil Lāh* (the decision belongs

1. *Akḥbār al-Tawāl*, 214

2. *Ibid.*, 214

to God alone),¹ and the question of Caliphate must be left to sword. They encamped at Ḥaruriyah(Ḥarūrā')² and became the first religio-political sect in Islām. They believed in the theocratic principle of administration by a council of State. These were the persons who had addressed Ṭalḥah, Zubayr and 'Ā'ishah as *Kafirs* (unbelievers) and now declared Mu'āwiyah and his followers as *Kafirs*. They considered fighting against Mu'āwiyah was legal and pressed 'Alī to continue fighting against the temporary peace for arbitration. But when 'Alī did not agree they seceded under the leadership of 'Abd Allāh b. Wahb al-Rāsibī and became his bitter foes. 'Alī tried to bring them to their senses but to no avail and he at last dispersed them from Ḥarūrā. They went towards Madā'in to occupy it and establish there a theocratic rule under a council of Representatives but were expelled by Sa'īd b. Mas'ūd, the Governor of the place. Crossing the Tigris 4,000 of them mustered on the bank of the Nahrwān Canal under the leadership of 'Abd Allāh ibn Wahb al-Rāsibī³ in Shawwāl 37H/ March 658. Instead of leading an expedition to Syria against Mu'āwiyah, 'Alī retraced his step towards Nahrwān because the Khārijis were perpetrating cruelties and killing all those Muslims who did not believe in their teachings. The Prophet's companion 'Abd Allāh b. Khabbāb, his wife and several members of the Banū Tayy were among those who were killed by the Khārijis.⁴ 'Alī demanded blood-wit but they refused to pay and threatened to kill him too.⁵ With great difficulty

1. Fakhrī, p. 130.

2. Ya'qūbī, II, 246

3. Cf. Dinawarī, 227

4. Ibn Athīr, III, 136

5. *Ibid.*, III, 136 ; Akhbār al-Jawāl, 230.

'Alī could raise only 3,000 out of his 60,000 fighting men on the stipendiary roll at Baṣrah and with special appeal he could have 60,000 from Kūfah. Of 4,000 Kharijites only 1,800 gave fight to 'Alī under 'Abd Allāh b. Wāḥb and perished to a man¹ on 9th Ṣafar 38H/17th July 658. This crushing defeat, however, did not eradicate their sect. Some of those who had dispersed from Nahrwān infiltrated into 'Alī's army in order to create dis-affection there, others went to other places to propagate calmness against 'Alī by giving a religious colour to it.

Loss of Egypt 1- 'Alī wanted to lead his force to the Syrian expedition but his soldiers under Ash'ath b. Qays al-Kindī wanted to rest and reorganise themselves at Kūfah. 'Alī halted at Nakhīlah and his troops dispersed to go to their houses. 'Alī was left with only 1,000 men and he returned to Kūfah.² His soldiers became homesick and hesitated to move. Meanwhile trouble arose in Egypt, 'Alī therefore had to abandon his expedition to Syria.

'Alī's Governor, Qays, in Egypt was a shrewd statesman. Due to his shrewdness all the Egyptians except the people of Kharbaṭah paid allegiance to 'Alī. The people of Kharbaṭah however remained neutral. Mu'āwiyah first tried to win the Governor over by persuasion and threat but failing in these he spread a rumour that Qays was in league with him and made correspondence with him secretly. In proof of which he quoted the temporizing policy of Qays towards the people of Kharbaṭah who were Mu'āwiyah's men. Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr and Muḥammad b. Ja'far b. Abū Ṭālib reported this to 'Alī and persuaded him to dismiss Qays. 'Alī however posted Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr

1. Ibn Athīr, III, 136 ; *Akḥbār al-Ṭawāl*, 234

2. *Ibid.*, 139

along with Qays in Egypt. This dual policy of 'Alī was not liked by his loyal and able Governor Qays who tendered his resignation.¹ Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr being young and rash adopted a drastic policy of repression leading to the rising of the people in Kharbatah in 37H/657-8. They were joined by other Egyptians too and Mu'āwiyah b. Khadij al-Kindī an Egyptian noble raised the voice of vengeance of 'Uthmān's blood.² After the battle of Ṣiffīn, when Mu'āwiyah was still master of Syria, the Egyptian rebels gained heart and assumed the offensive. Mu'āwiyah who had been diverted by 'Alī's march on Ṣiffīn was now free to send 6,000 troops under 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ to attack Egypt. Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr had only 4,000 troops at his command. 'Alī because of the heartless Kufans could not send reinforcement. The Governor was defeated and killed³ and Egypt fell into the hands of Mu'āwiyah's General, 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ, in Ṣafar 38/July 658. As promised 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ was appointed Governor of Egypt. The fall of Egypt was another blow to 'Alī who reproached his soldiers for their spiritless attitude.

Rebellions in Basrah and the Hijāz :— After occupying Egypt Mu'āwiyah despatched forces to occupy other possessions of 'Alī who was still in the possession of the entire 'Arabia and Persia. Mu'āwiyah's emissaries worked at Baṣrah which was inhabited by three sections one supporting the cause of 'Alī another zealous to take revenge for the shedding of the blood of 'Uthmān, and hence inclined towards Mu'āwiyah, and the third of the

1. Ibn Athīr, 107-108

2. Ṭabarī, 3391-93

3. Ibn Athīr, III, 143.

Kh̄arijis who hated both ‘Alī and Mu‘āwiyah equally. Troubles started and Ziyad who held temporary charge of the government was forced to take refuge with a loyal clan. After severe fighting the rebels submitted and Mu‘āwiyah’s men, forty in number, perished in flames. This shows how precarious was the hold of ‘Alī on Baṣrah. South Persia also rose to rebellion. The rising of al-Kh̄irī ibn Rashīd of Banī Nājiyah was the most serious at Ahwās in 38/658. He had fought on ‘Alī’s side both at the fields of Camel and Ṣiffin but he rebelled because ‘Alī did not agree to the decision of the arbitrators of Dumah. He was defeated and killed. There was another rebellion in Kirmān and Fārs. Ziyad was appointed governor of Iṣṭakhr, he suppressed the rebellion in Kirmān and Fārs by setting one chief against another and proved a successful ruler.

Mu‘āwiyah was not sitting idle. After conquering Egypt he started raids on southern districts and Arabia became the bone of contention between the two claimants. Mu‘āwiyah sent three thousand men under Busr b. Abī Arṭāṭ to Makkah, Madīnah and Yaman in 40/660 with the purpose of securing allegiance for him. This created dissensions. Though ‘Alī succeeded in establishing his authority in the Ḥijāz he had to conclude treaty with Mu‘āwiyah recognizing his authority on Syria and Egypt on condition that ‘Alī would rule over the rest of Islamic Empire. Mu‘āwiyah now assumed the title of **K**halīfah at Jerusalem in Ṣafar 40/July 660.

Murder of ‘Alī :—This settlement made between ‘Alī and Mu‘āwiyah spread discontentment among the mischief-mongers represented by the **K**h̄arijis who wanted to avenge the event of Nahrwān. Three **K**h̄arijis namely ‘Abd al-

Rahmān ibn Muljam, Bakr b. 'Abd Allāh and 'Amr b. Bakr therefore egged a nefarious design of killing 'Alī, Mu'āwiyah and 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ respectively on one and the same day at Kūfah, Damascus and Fustāṭ at the time of morning prayer on Thursday 17th Ramaḍān 40H/ January 661 A. C.¹ 'Amr was indisposed on that day so another man while leading prayer in his place was killed, Mu'āwiyah received a severe injury while 'Alī received a fatal wound at the hands of two assassins 'Abd al-'aḥmān b. al-Muljam and Shabīb b. Bajrah Ashjī. Shābib escaped but ibn al-Muljam was caught. 'Alī gave instructions that the assassin was to be killed if he died of his injury.² Desparing of his life Jandab b. 'Abd Allāh sought his permission to take the oath of allegiance at the hand of Ḥasan. Leaving the problem of succession to be settled by the people after his death³ 'Alī succumbed to the injuries three days after at the age of sixty-three on the 20th Ramaḍān 40H/28th January, 661 after a reign of four years and nine months. He was buried in the graveyard of 'Azzah near Kūfah where later grew Najaf. Thus came to an end the republican government which had begun functioning with Abū Bakr in 632 A. D.

Achievements and Character :- The troubles that arose during the last days of 'Uḥmān and caused his life, continued throughout the Khilāfat of 'Alī and cost the lives of Talbah, Zubayr and 'Alī. Due to the chaotic period of his rule, 'Alī could not find time for territorial expansion, some fresh conquests were however made in Sistān and Kābul. Though

1. Dinawarī, p. 227

2. Ṭabarī, VI, 3461 ; Ibn Athīr, III, 156.

3. Ṭabarī, VI, 3461.

‘Alī tried to establish peace within the Empire, thousands of Muslims were killed as a result of internecine warfare.

Ḥadrat ‘Ali was charged for his inaction against the assassins of Khalīfah ‘Uṭhmān. He expressed his inability to take any strong step against them before establishing peace which however he could not do. When opposition of the Khārijis grew up against his own person his handling of them was likewise gentle. In spite of his being averse to wage war against the Muslims and to break the unity of Islām, two civil wars were fought and ultimately ‘Alī had to agree to the disintegration of the Empire.

The Caliph was himself a good scribe and learned man and patronised learning. Occasionally he employed himself as a scribe of the Qur’an and he arranged the Chapters in the order of revelation and devoted full six months to this purpose after the death of Prophet Muḥammad.¹ He knew the Qur’an by heart and wrote a commentary upon it. Under his supervision Abu’l Aswad-al-Duali compiled the first Arabic Grammar specially for non-Arabs who committed mistakes in reciting the Qur’an.² ‘Alī was a great jurist and his verdict was final in the knotty problems which arose during the time of his predecessors.³ Caliph ‘Umar who was himself a great jurist at times consulted ‘Alī in solving knotty problems.⁴ ‘Alī worked as counsellor to Abū Bakr, ‘Umar and ‘Uṭhmān and even performed the functions of Chief judge. He had been appointed judge in Yaman after its conquest by the Prophet himself.⁵

1. Ibn Sa’d, III, p. 101 ; *Cf. Fihrist* Ibn Nadim for details

2. *Fihrist* ibn Nadim, p. 60

3. *Tahdhib al-Asma*, I, 346.

4. *Musnad* Ahmad b. Ḥanbal, I, 14.

5. *Ibid.*, I, 69

Living with Prophet Muḥammad to whom he was devoted 'Alī imbibed simplicity and sincerity of purpose, the characteristics of the Holy Prophet. He lived a simple life like other previous orthodox caliphs and did not keep any police or military guard for his own person. He lived in simple house and never constructed a palace for his residence.¹ Nor did he have a servant to assist his wife in household affairs. He did not have full clothing and sometimes had to go without food or sell his arms or work in the field of others for his food.² He was mild and beneficent and sometimes distributed his last morsel.

'Alī was "Valiant in battle, wise in counsel, eloquent in speech, true to his friends and magnanimous to his foes" the qualities of an ideal 'Arab. But not being a shrewd politician he lacked in alertness and foresight and failed in tackling the situation with which he was confronted. People drew undue advantage of his mildness, compromising attitude and his conciliating policy to a dangerous extent.³

'Alī had been accused of deserting 'Uḥmān at the time of peril and of being so extremely indifferent that he was suspected of being in collusion with the malcontents. But the facts, as narrated above, show that he was unable to take any step against the rebels on his own since the Caliph was averse to shed the blood of a Muslim even though when it was clear that the seditionists were prepared to go to the extreme. 'Alī, however, posted his own son on guard to the Caliph along, seventeen others. Later

1. *Tahdhib al-Asma*, p. 346

2. *Kanz al-'Ummāl*, VI, 409

3. *Ibid.*, VI, 409; *Musnad ibn Hanbal*, I, 135.

his intention of taking the revenge for the blood of 'Uthmān was as sincere as that of any other persons but unfortunately as the assassins had intermingled with his army, there was trouble and dissension everywhere. He preferred peace and waited for suitable time. This delay caused apprehension and ultimately led to his assassination.

CHAPTER—III

ADMINISTRATION

*'Arab Tribes :—*The Ancient Arabs were divided into two categories the *Ahl al-Hadarah* (the Town people) and *Ahl al-Bādiyah* (the Desert dwellers). The natural facilities available to the two groups and their economic activities being different, there was remarkable difference in their governmental organisations which had direct bearing on the growth and development of 'Arab administration. There was no elaborate machinery of administration, no officials, no offices but there was ruler in each clan and tribe. He was called *al-Shaykh* (the Elder). The 'Arab Chief represented the united will of the tribe both in peace and war. He was elected in times of war and he generally imposed his will on his followers (tribesmen) during peace time but he had no power to lay duties or inflict punishment on them.

Nobility of birth, seniority in age and personal distinctions determined his position in the political society of the tribe. The Arabs being democratic in spirit were averse to submit to the arbitrary rule of the *Shaykh*. Hence he had to make his decision in *al-Mala'* (a council of the Elders in the town) which represented their clans and sub-clans. Every clan was responsible for the conduct of its members. Maintenance of peace within the tribe was the prime responsibility of the *Shaykh* which he did assisted by the council of Elders. Although the council was not strictly a representative body yet it acted as a

check upon the arbitrary power of the Shaykh. If the Shaykh however happened to be powerful he overruled the decision of the Elders. He settled disputes within the tribe even difference between wife and husband and protected the tribe from external aggression. Punishment of murder, theft and adultery was severe. If the culprit escaped, he found no protection and no safety and was declared *al-tarīd* (an outlaw).

The Shaykh was the civil and military head. The tribe being in constant tribal wars each 'Arab was trained to be a soldier. Only the rich could afford to own horses as they were scarce in Arabia before Islām. Booty was equally divided among all the soldiers. The Shaykh received one-fourth of the whole booty (*al-mirha*'), articles he liked most (*alṣajayā'*), rare articles like horses which could not be distributed equally (*al-fudūl*) and the valuables obtained while on the march (*al-nashīṭah*) while the soldier who killed an enemy received all his accoutrement (*al-salab*) in addition to his share in the booty. Among the offensive weapons the Arabs used were swords, lances, bows and arrows and defensive ones were shields and coats of mail, the latter were used only by the rich. Horses, being scarce in the country, were used only for sudden attack and flight (*al-karr* and *al-farr*).

The individual was free with the exception of traditional practices concerning marriages or rights of property. He was free to withdraw from one tribe and join another by attaching himself with a member of that tribe. He was responsible for the duties for which he volunteered himself. The tribal society was consisted of the chief and his family, *ḥalīf* (one who has taken an oath) and *mulṣaq* (one who is attached), *mawālī* (the freedmen) and the slaves governed by uncoded ordinances.

Prophet Muḥammad came and taught that Islām must take precedence over tribal loyalties and created a society governed by codified ordinances. Now differences began to be recorded between believers and non-believers not between one tribe and another and their nomadic and unchequered life began to change into a settled life and the whole population came to be organized into religiomilitia.

The Prophet :- Prophet Muḥammad gave Arabia a centralized form of government which concentrated a good deal of power in its hands retaining many of its ancient laws, institutions and customs. From the charter of Madīnah it is clear that the Prophet did not like to brush aside the old tribal constitution but he wanted to adopt, expand and reform it as the tribal organization was inadequate for the large growing community of Islām. It contains the germ of the Islamic State founded by the Prophet with adequate provisions for legislative functions but left in a rudimentary condition as far as judicial and executive functions were concerned. Tribal chiefs lost their pre-eminence and were brought under the banner of one, Prophet Muḥammad, who received guidance from God to govern the community and the individual members composing the Islamic community and to relinquish a good portion of their freedom and bow to God and obey His vice-gerent who was the head of the state and the spiritual leader of the community.

The authority of the Prophet was supreme in executing the injunctions of the Qur'an and in matters on which there was no light from the Holy Book. Although in fact he was fully sovereign, he usually consulted his chief companions on all important matters. He held his office in the Masjīd al-Nabawī.

The Prophet's secretariate began to function in its elementary form during his lifetime. The Divine revelations were recorded by 'Alī and 'Uthmān and in their absence, by Zayd b. Thābit and Ubayy b. Ka'ab.¹ The entry of *amwāl al-sadaqāt* (properties collected by way of *zakāt* and *ṣadaqah*) was made by al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām and al-Juhaym b. al-Salt.² The registrars of transactions made between the people were al-Mughīrah b. Shu'ayb and al-Ḥasan b. Namir and revenue official was Ḥudhayfah b. al-Yamān who prepared estimates of revenue from the date-palms. The record of *Ghanīmah* was maintained by Mu'ayqib b. Abi Fāṭimah. 'Alā b. 'Uqbah and 'Abd Allāh b. al-Arqam maintained records of the Anṣārs and of the tribes and their waters.³ Letters addressed to Kings and Chiefs were drafted by Zayd b. Thābit⁴ and sometimes by 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Arqam while the Prophet's seal was kept by Ḥanzalah b. al-Rabi'.⁵

The Caliph :—Muḥammad's *Khalīfahs* (successors) inherited his full powers in the secular side and a vestige of his religious authority. The *Amīrs* (Governors) appointed by the Prophet and his successors were the real rulers of the provinces. On Prophet's demise the community was faced with difficulties in providing themselves with a chief. The Anṣārs assembled to elect their chief. The leading Muhājirūn joined them and Abū Bakr being the most suitable person available in the community was elected *Khalīfah* (substitute of Muḥammad), the temporal and spri-

1. Al-Jahshīyari, p. 11

2. *Ibid.*, p. 11

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12

4. *Ibid.*, p. 12.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 12

tual leader of the community. There was neither hierarchy nor priesthood in Islām. Personal merit, seniority, position, family, wealth, relationship to the Prophet and tribal backing and past services to Islām were the factors taken into consideration in the election or nomination of a Khalīfah. The Khalīfah thus elected was the temporal head without any independent religious authority. Abū Bakr nominated as his successor 'Umar who in his turn, finding none of extraordinary calibre, nominated a council of six members from the council of Elders to elect one among themselves as the Khalīfah assuming that such an election would have the confidence and support of at least five other influential companions of the Prophet and their men.

Abū Bakr and 'Umar were of the Quraysh and the third Khalīfah elected was 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān, an Umayyad, also belonged to the Quraysh. Due to misunderstanding trouble arose towards the end of his Khilāfat leading to his murder and the election of 'Alī and practically the office was thrust on him by the insurgents. 'Alī's supporters considered that he being not only a son-in-law of the Prophet like Ḥaḍrat 'Uthmān but also a cousin to Muḥammad had a prior claim to be Caliph. Thus seeds of dissension having been once sown the community split up into two groups never to unite again. 'Uthmān's assassination created a party against 'Alī which rallied round the banner of his relative Amīr Mu'āwiyah of Syria who held 'Alī responsible for the murder of Ḥaḍrat 'Uthmān. At the first opportunity, he proclaimed himself caliph of Syria bifercating the Islamic world into two Caliphates, during the last days of Ḥaḍrat 'Alī, one at Damascus and other at Kūfah. 'Alī's main support had been at Madīnah but

he had transferred his capital to Kufah on the Euphrates to have more support from the 'Irāqīs the enemies of the Syrians and thus to overpower Mu'āwiyah. 'Abd Allāh ibn Sabā's propaganda against 'Uthmān and in favour of 'Alī, the *wasī* (executor) of Prophet Muḥammad, had its effects on the 'Irāqīs who were favourably disposed towards the hereditary principle of the Persians. 'Alī was murdered by the Khārijites who regarded both 'Alī and Mu'āwiyah as usurpers but their attack on Mu'āwiyah did not prove fatal.

'Alī was succeeded by his son Ḥasan at Kufah but soon he abdicated in favour of Mu'āwiyah who, in his turn, held that in a democratic system the stability of the government could not be maintained. In order to ensure stability he thought of continuing the Khilāfat in his line and therefore nominated his son Yazīd as *walī 'ahd* (successor) against the wishes of the populace of Madīnah and Makkah. Thus in the provinces *bayt* was taken at the hands of the governors and other officials on behalf of Yazīd. Ḥasan, son of 'Alī, and 'Abd Allāh ibn Zubayr, the two rivals of Yazīd established themselves one after another at Kufah and Makkah in opposition to the Umayyad Khilāfat at Damascus. Yazīd was accepted ruler of Syria and 'Abd Allāh of the Ḥijāz and Egypt. It was 'Abd al-Malik the fourth ruler of the Umayyad dynasty who killed Ibn Zubayr in a battle and established his authority over all the Muslim territories. Thus the hereditary system of succession in which son or brother on the basis of seniority or ability used to be nominated by the dying Caliph was established and this continued throughout the reign of the Umayyads.

The Khilāfat of Abū Bakr is significant for the establishment of peace within Arabia and the repulse of the foreign aggressors and the introduction of social and political institu-

tions but the foundation of the actual government and proper administration was laid during the time of 'Umar. The latter believed in giving right to all to demand and safeguard his or her right and to express his views openly, to limit the rights of the ruler and to criticize his action. 'Umar himself summed up the rights and duties of the Caliph and the subjects. The Caliph had his share in the wealth of the subjects as the guardian had in that of the orphans. If he was affluent he should take nothing from it and if he was poor he should take according to his needs. The subjects had the right to know that the revenue and booty were spent in a befitting manner, to demand the increase of the daily ration, to guard the frontiers and to protect them from danger. These duties and responsibilities he acknowledged and discharged. Once while 'Umar was discouraging on the rates of dowry, a woman intervened and commented that he had no right to fix it which had been kept open by God for negotiation between the two parties. 'Umar stopped and said, "Even a woman knows more than I do." It happened once that Ḥafṣah his daughter and widow of the Prophet came to demand a share in the booty recently received on the ground of her being a close relation. 'Umar commented that as his daughter she had claim in his personal property but not in that of the common fund of the Muslims.¹ On another occasion 'Umar fell ill and people prescribed honey for him. There was honey in the *Bayt al-Māl* but he did not take even a drop of it but with the permission of the assembly in the Mosque.

The Caliph's orders were binding only to the extent that they did not contraven the prescriptions of the Qura'n

1. *Kitāb al-Kharāj*, 67.

and the Ḥadīth. In matters which did not find direction either from the Qura'n or the Ḥadīth he had to abide by the decisions of the Council of Elders and theologians. Abū Bakr had limited his own authority of holding office as long as he proved himself worthy of the same. 'Umar declared, "There can be no Khilāfat except by consultation." In the *Majlis al-Shūrā* once called in to decide as to whether or not the conquered territories of 'Irāq and Syria were to be distributed among Muslim soldiers, 'Umar spoke, "Verily I do not implore you but to share with one in the task entrusted to me and the burden of your affairs and that you should follow anything arising out of my caprice"¹

'Umar initiated and encouraged democratic methods in the appointment of tax collectors. It was on the willingness of the people of the localities concerned 'Uthmān b. al-Farqad, al-Ḥajjāj b. al-ʿIllāt and Ma'an b. Yazīd were appointed tax-collectors of Kūfah, Baṣrah and Syria respectively. It was this weakness of 'Umar which emboldened the citizens of Kūfah and Baṣrah to demand the frequently change of Governors and create dissensions during the Khilāfat of 'Uthmān.

Abū Bakr had appointed 'Umar chief justice and entrusted him with the distribution of *zakāt* and 'Alī was placed in charge of the supervision of the captives of war and of correspondence thus sharing the administration of the newly created Muslim State with his chief companions.

'Umar's Khilāfat was akin to a republic form of Government. All matters relating to the country and the nation were discussed in the *Majlis al-Shūrā* and resolutions were adopted. It was constituted by the elders of the

1. *Al-Fārūq*, II, 17.

2. *Abū Yūsuf*, p. 14

Muhajirs and the *Anṣārs* for transacting ordinary business. To assist him in the administration of day to day affair ‘Umar had an inner council of his Chief companions and advisers,¹ ‘Uthmān, ‘Alī, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Awf, Ma‘ādh b. Jabal, Ibn Abī K‘ab and Zayd b. Thābit.

Besides this *Majlis al-Shūrā*, Council of the Elders, there was another council constituted by the members hailing from all tribes, the Muhajirs and the Anṣārs, which was called in to decide certain serious, important and unusual issues such as the question of the distribution of the conquered land among the soldiers,² and the sessions continued for days together and resolved against it. And again it was the Council of Elders which dissuaded ‘Umar from taking the command of the Muslim force in person in the battle of Nahāwand.³

For holding the meeting of *Majlis al-Shūrā* a herald used to go round proclaiming *al-Ṣalāt Jāmi‘ah*. People used to gather in the Mosque and ‘Umar after performing two rak‘ats of *numāz* used to address the gathering on the necessity of calling the meeting and then he invited suggestions from every member present.⁴ The fixation of the salary of soldiers, appointment of governors and officials and rights of foreign merchants trading in Muslim lands and others used to be the items of agenda before the council.

The Wālī:- Prophet Muḥammad began to administer his newly created State from his headquarters at Madīnah. To enable the establishment of law and order in distant regions the country was divided into provinces al-Madīnah,

1. Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, 276

2. *Ibid.*, 269; Abū Yūsuf, pp. 12, 14, 15

3. Ṭabarī, I, 2214-18.

4. *Ibid.*, I, 2213; Ṭabarī, 2574

Makkah, Tayma', al-Jsnad, Najrān, al-Yaman, Ḥaḍramawt, 'Umān, al-Baḥrayn and the region of Banū Kindah and to rule over each province a *Walī* (Governor) was appointed.

After the conquest of Syria and Persia 'Umar redivided the empire into fourteen provinces Madīnah, Makkah, Syria, Jazīrah (Mesopotamia proper), Baṣrah, Kūfah, Egypt, Palestine, *Khurāsān*, *Ādharbayjān*, Mīkrān, Kirmān, Sijistān and Fārs. Palestine was divided into two sub-provinces with their governors at Ayliya and Ramlah. Similarly Egypt was divided into Upper and Lower with separate Governors Ibn Abī *Sharḥ* and 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ the latter was also Governor-General.

The high officials of the centre and provinces were selected in the *Majlis al-Shūrā*. 'Umar with due considerations used to propose the names and they were seconded and approved by the members of the *Shūrā*. Thus Nu'mān b. Miqrān was selected for the expedition on Nahāwand. Among the provincial officials were Ḥākim (governor), *Katib* (secretary), *Katib al-Dīwān* (military secretary), *Ṣāḥib al-Kharāj* (revenue collectors), *Ṣāḥib al-Aḥdāḥ* (police officer), *Ṣāḥib Bayt al-Māl* (treasurer), Qāḍī (judge). Ṭabarī¹ preserves the names of the provincial officers of Kūfah – governor 'Ammār b. Yasir, revenue collector 'Uthmān b. Ḥanīf, treasurer 'Abd Allāh ibn Mas'ūd, military secretary 'Abd Allāh b. *Khuzā'i* and judge *Sharīḥ*.

The *Walī* was the representative of the Caliph in the province and hence he ruled over the province on his behalf leading prayer in the mosque and commanding soldiers in the battle-field. He was responsible for maintaining peace within his jurisdiction and for protecting the frontiers

1. Ṭabarī, 2641.

from foreign aggression. On the appointment of *Wālī* people gathered in the Masjid al-Nabawi and 'Umar used to address the Governors in front of the audience thus, "Listen, verily I am not sending you as the leaders of guidance so that men may follow you. Render unto the Muslims their rights ; beat them not, lest you humiliate them ; praise them not, lest you make them indisciplined. Do not shut your doors against them, lest the strong amongst them devour the weak ones."¹ On arrival at his headquarters the governor used to read the contents of the letter of appointment before the populace at his headquarters so that his powers and duties and their own rights and obligations would be made known to them.

Peace and Justice :- In the pre-prophetic period of Muḥammad there was a confederacy of the Quraysh in Makkah known as *Ḥilf al-Fuḍūl*. It had been set up to repress the oppressors and protect the rights of every weak man in the city. On his migration to Madīnah the Prophet granted a charter to the Jews strengthening the hand of the law-abiding citizens and obliging them to hand over the offender alone to the victim or his avenger. This was a clear departure from the old 'Arab practice of inflicting talion even on the relatives of the wrongdoer. Thus blood-feud within the community was completely stopped and the offender was brought before the Caliph or his agent for his decision before the payment of the penalty. The Prophet and his Khalīfahs were responsible for the maintenance of internal discipline. On the expansion of the Empire they delegated their power to the governors and judicial officers of the provinces.

1. Abū Yūsuf, p. 66

Prophet Muḥammad was himself the chief justice and to assist him in administering justice he appointed judges in the provinces or directed the governors to appoint persons named by him. The judges were independent of the governors in the matter of dispensing justice. This shows that even during his time the judiciary was separated from executive. Eminent scholars of exemplary character were appointed as *Qadis* and they treated the high and the low as equals before the law.¹ The judges were paid handsomely in order to dissuade them from thinking of accepting bribes. The judges like Salmān, Rabi'ah and Shariḥ received 500 dirhams each monthly² while Mu'āwiyah received 1,000 dīnārs a month. No case of Qādi's accepting bribe, in the days of the pious Caliphs, was ever reported. The mosque was used as the court of justice and in order not to deter even the poorest person seeking justice, the courts were free for all and no court fee whatever was charged.

To pronounce on disputed matters and problems and pass decrees on such, the Department of *Iftā'* was established. During the time of 'Umar the members of this body were 'Uḥmān, 'Alī, Abū Ḥurayrah, Ma'ādh b. Jabal, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf, Ibn Abi K'ab, Zayd ibn Thābit and Abū Dardā.

Police :—To establish peace and order a police (*Aḥdāth*) department was established with *Sāhib al-Aḥdāth* (*Shurṭah*) as its chief officer. In the beginning of Muslim rule generally the duties of the Police were carried out by the people. The Prophet appointed Abū Ḥurayrah with police duties in al-Baḥrayn. 'Umar introduced night watches and patrols

1. Jurji Zaydān, *Ta'rikh al-Tamaddun al-Islāmī*, IV, 39

2. *Hidāyah*, II, 247

and 'Alī introduced for the first time the office of the *Shurṭah* (a 'police-cum-municipal department) on a regular basis. The primary duty of the police was to maintain and restore peace within the city. It had its branches in all provincial and important towns. In small cities there were soldiers called the *ma'ūnah* force to establish peace who made nocturnal rounds for guarding against thieves and malefactors. The chief officer of this force was the *Ṣāhib al-Shurṭah* (prefect of police) or *Ṣāhib al-Ma'ūnah* charged with the police duties in the city. In times of war or unrest he had to organize the main body of the troops. The *aḥdāth* or foot soldiers were posted in the outlying districts to maintain law and order and to fight battle when needed.

The police was also entrusted with the work of *ḥisbah* (municipal and market affairs). They were to see that proper weights and measures were used in the market, houses were not constructed on roads and public places, animals were not laden with heavy loads and wine was not sold publicly. In short they were to look after the interest of the public and to help in the preservation of public morals.

The *Ṣāhib al-Shurṭah* (the Chief Police officer) investigated offences committed, made his decisions in accordance with the political and customary law and punished the guilty. The religious side of the law was interpreted by the *qāḍi* who determined the appropriate punishment and prescribed legal penalties. Unlike the *qāḍi* the *ṣāhib al-shurṭah* enjoyed power to extract confession from an accused person by force.

Imprisonment and expulsion were introduced by 'Umar as punishments for misconduct. The first prison was made after purchasing the house of Ṣafwān b. Ummyah for 4,000

dirhams at Makkah.¹ Other prisons were constructed in the districts. Abū Mahjan *Thaqafī* was banished to an island for the offence of being a habitual drunkard.²

‘*Āmil* : To collect taxes specially *zakāt* (poor-rate) and *ṣadaqah* (voluntary alms) ‘Amils known for their integrity were appointed in the provinces by the Prophet. Under the pious Caliphs each province had *Dār al-Amārat* (a permanent Government House) and *al-Dīwān* (a permanent Secretariat) and the provinces were divided into districts which again were divided into sub-divisions to each of which an ‘*Āmil* was posted. On the appointment of an ‘*Āmil* or *Wālī* his powers and duties were specified and he had to furnish a detailed list of his properties and belongings.³ Before appointment the tax-collector had to undertake to be honest in his dealings and not to use Turkish horses, or fine dress ; nor was he to eat bread made of fine flour and keep a gate-keeper.⁴

When ‘Umar was received in Syria by Muslim officials clad in silken robes he became angry and reprimanded them. ‘Ayyād b. *Ghanam* the ‘*Āmil* of Egypt wore fine dress and kept a guard at the gate. It was reported to ‘Umar who ordered Muḥammad b. Muslimah to enquire into the matter and present the ‘*Āmil* before him. He was ordered to put off his fine dress and proceed to graze sheep. On imploring forgiveness he was pardoned and as long as he lived he performed his duties efficiently.⁵

On an extraordinary increase in the property of the ‘*Āmil* the excessive wealth as that of Abū Ḥurayrah and

1. Maqrīzī, II, 187.

2. *Usud al-Ghābah* see Abū Mahjan *Thaqafī*.

3. *Balādhurī*, 219.

4. *Tabarī*, 2747

5. *Ibid.*, 2403.

‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ was confiscated by ‘Umar.¹ Once a large number of ‘*āmils* were found profiteering in business. Khālīd b. Sa’d composed a poem on this and reported the matter to ‘Umar. The wealth of all was assessed and half of their properties were confiscated by the State.

It was a general circular to place their grievances against the tax-collectors before Khālīfah during the time of *hajj* where ‘*āmils* were instructed to be present on the occasion and the sufferers were compensated. Once a person reported that one of the ‘*āmils* had beaten him. Mustaghīth was ordered to punish him with 100 lashes. ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ pleaded for him but ‘Umar did not listen. Then ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ made Mustaghīth accept two dinars for each stripe.² The famous general Khālīd b. Walīd was deposed because he gave a handsome present to a poet and was found guilty of extravagance, if not of embezzlement.³ To dissuade the officers from accepting bribe they were paid handsomely and provided with rations. ‘Ammār b. Yasir had an annuity of 600 dirhams and received as daily rations wheat and mutton.⁴

There was no state treasury during the time of the Prophet. Whatever came as booty or revenue were distributed then and there by him. In the second year of the Khilāfat, Abū Bakr built a treasury but there was only one dirham in it at the time of his death. Following Prophet Muḥammad, he distributed all what he received, ten dirhams to every one in the first year and twenty in the second year of his Khilāfat.

1. *Kitāb al-Kharāj*, 66.

2. *Balādhurī*, 82-3, 291

3. *Kitāb al-Kharāj*, 66.

4. *Ibn Athīr*, II, 418.

‘Umar took census of the Muslims and established *Dīwān* a Persian institution¹ to register the names of the recipients of pensions. ‘Ā’ishah topped the list and received 12,000 dirhams annually. According to the gradations the *ahl-bayt*, emigrants and helpers received 4,000 to 5,000 dirhams annuity. An ordinary soldier received 500 to 600 dirhams while women, children and clients received 200 to 600 dirhams a year. The treasury was reorganized and sub-treasuries were set up in provincial and district headquarters. ‘Umar’s proposal of founding a permanent treasury at Madīnah and its branches in the provinces was approved in the *Majlis al-Shūrā* in about 15H/636 A. D. and the Hijrah era was introduced in the following year. The treasury officers were appointed and guards were posted by ‘Umar. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Arqam was in-charge of *Bayt al-Māl* and ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. ‘Ubayd al-Qari and Mu‘ayqib were appointed as his assistants. The treasury officers were generally independent of the governor and held an important position among the officials. Khālīd b. Harīth and ‘Abd Allāh b. Mas‘ūd were appointed treasurers in Iṣfahān and Kūfah respectively. They, after covering the expenditure of the provincial government, despatched the balance to the central *Bayt al-Māl* located at Madīnah which spent 3,00,000 dirhams on the salaries and pensions of the Madinites alone. Some slight changes were introduced in the Byzantine dīnār and Persian dirham retained in circulation by ‘Umar and registers were maintained in Persian in ‘Irāq and Persia, Syriac in Syria and Coptic in Egypt for recording revenues and expenditure.

Under Prophet Muḥammad there were five sources of revenue viz., *al-Ghanīmah* (spoils of war), *al-Zakāt* (poor-rate)

and *al-ṣadaqah* (voluntary alms), *al-fayy'* (income from crown lands). On the expansion of the Empire under the pious Caliphs the sources of revenue multiplied and a considerable additional income came from *al-'Ushūr* (the tithes) collected from the merchants.

Al-Ghanimah (booty) comprised moveable property taken in battle from non-Muslims. Inside Arabia, however, even landed property was included in the booty. The Prophet did not pay any salary to the soldiers as the taxes came they were distributed among the soldiers, bachelors receiving half of the share of married soldiers.

Four-fifths of the booty were divided among the soldiers, a horseman receiving double or triple the share of the footman,¹ and the soldier who killed an enemy received his accoutrement (*salab*) a pre-Islamic practice in addition to his usual share in the booty. The remaining one-fifth (*Khums*) went to the State treasury and was divided in three shares, one being used in supporting the Prophet, another in supporting his relatives and the third spent on the orphans, the needy, wayfarers and on the general good of the Muslim community. Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmān also divided the *khums* into three portions but spent the shares of the Prophet and his relatives on the equipments of army.² The prisoners taken in war were also distributed as slaves like other commodities of booty among the soldiers.³ 'Umar enunciated that only moveable property and prisoners excluding money and land acquired in war were to be distributed among the warriors.

1. Abū Yūsuf, *Kitaḥ al-Kharāj*, 11

2. *Ibid.*, 11-12

3. Cf. Māwardī, ch. XII.

The *Zakāt* was levied on the properties of Muslims. It was paid on land produce immediately after the harvest and on animals, gold and silver and merchandise after one year's uninterrupted possession. This tax was levied at the rate of 10 to 15% on the yield from land if this exceeded five *wasqs* (ass-loads, equal to 60 *sa'*).¹ The minimum of gold and silver (*al-Nisāb*) was the value of 200 dirhams and the rate was $2\frac{1}{2}\%$. The minimum numbers of camels and cattle on which *zakāt* was levied being five and thirty respectively, the *zakāt* for the former was a six months old lamb or one year old goat and for the latter, six months old calf. Horses were exempt from the *zakāt* as they were scarce in Arabia during the time of the Prophet but with the increase in their trade after the conquest of 'Irāq and Persia the *zakāt* was levied on them too by 'Umar. The State's share in the treasure trove was one-fifth.

Income from the *zakāt* was spent on the needy, indigent, collectors of *zakāt*, the emancipation of slaves, military enterprise, etc.

Like the Persian *gezit* and Roman *tributum capiti* the Prophet realised *jizyah* at the rate of one *dīnār* per head per annum from the non-Muslim male members capable of paying it. Monks, beggars, women, children, the aged, the insane and the sick were exempt. On the conquest of Syria, 'Irāq and Persia when circumstances changed, 'Umar changed this uniform rate of *jizyah* and levied four *dīnārs*, two *dīnars* and one *dīnār* per annum according to payee's financial condition.² 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ' however collected *jizyah* in Egypt at the uniform rate of two *dīnars* per head.

1. Abū Yūsuf, pp. 21, 31; Balādhuri, p. 7

2. Balādhuri, 124, 152, 271,

The *jizyah* being a military tax was collected only when the Muslims were sure of giving protection to life and property of the non-Muslims. Failing to protect the lives and properties of the people of Ḥimṣ, Damascus, and other advance posts when the Muslims withdrew before the battle of Yarmūk the *jizyah* already collected was returned.¹ No *jizyah* was collected from the Cypriots even after the conquest of Cyprus as Caliph ‘Uṭhmān was not yet sure of giving them protection against the enemy’s attack. *Dhimmi*s taking part in a campaign were not required to pay *jizyah*. Once a *Dhimmi* on rendering some service to the Muslim army got exemption from the payment of *jizyah* for that year.²

The income from the *jizyah* and *kharāj* was spent on the maintenance of the soldiers and other military purposes.

The *Kharāj* was the land-tax collected from non-Muslims. It was collected for the first time from the Jews of Khaybar at the rate of half of the produce and ‘Abd Allāh b. Rawahah was appointed to estimate the produce and collect the *kharāj*.³ The old system of taxation in the non-Arab conquered lands was retained and the *Marzubans* and *Dihqāns* were allowed to retain their old rights. In some parts of the Sawād, the lower Euphrates-Tigris Valley, the Sassanids collected *kharāj* at the rate of one *qafīz* of grain and one dirham in cash per *jarīb* of land.⁴ ‘Umar appointed ‘Uṭhmān b. Hunayf to survey the whole of ‘Irāq. He surveyed 3,000 square miles with 36,000,000 *jaribs*⁵ of cultivable lands. The rate of land-tax was revised and fixed according to the

1. Balādhuri, 137; Abū Yūsuf, 81.

2. Ṭabarī, 2663-65.

3. Balādhuri, pp. 24, 27, 29.

4. Abū Yūsuf, p. 29

5. One *jarīb* is equal to 3600 sq. yards (60 cubits by 60 cubits).

quality of land and the value of its produce. Thus the tax imposed was two dirhams per *jarīb* on barley, four on wheat, five on clove, six on sugar-cane, eight on date-palms and ten on grapes or fields with fruit trees.¹ This was not the uniform rate applicable to other places. The total revenue from 'Irāq in the year of survey was 86,000,000 dirhams which swelled and according to Ibn Khurdādbih it amounted to 128,000,000 dirhams during the time of 'Umar.² This was the result of bringing into cultivation waste lands mainly by digging irrigation canals.

'Umar abolished the Roman feudal system in Syria and gave the lands to the cultivators, the actual tillers of the soil, and the revenue collected from Syria was 14,000,000 dīnārs.

In Persia from the time of the Sassanids the *takmilah* system was followed in the collection of land-tax. It consisted in assessing the *kharāj* in lump sums. In case the land was left uncultivated or some peasants escaped, the peasants remaining on the spot were liable to pay the entire amount. The old system continued under the Muslims.

The Copts paid land-tax collectively to the Byzantines and they continued doing this to the Muslims. They themselves decided as to how much each individual cultivator was to pay and their burden was also shared by craftsmen and other wage earners. The dues of defaulters was paid by the rest.³ Contracts were made every fourth year and allowances were made every year for the making and repairing of dykes, and meeting draughts or other natural calamities at rates specified in the registers of the *kharāj*. The Byzantines collected from the Copts one additional quantity of grains for provisioning the

1. Balādhurī, pp. 269, 271.

2. Quoted by al-Khudrī, III, 143.

3. Maqrīzī, *Khitaṭ*, Vol. I, 77

Roman soldiers. After conquest the Muslims also collected this additional tax in the form of wheat, honey, oil, vinegar etc.¹ This was abolished by 'Umar later. The average rate of tax was one dīnār and three *irdabs* ($16\frac{1}{2}$ bushels) of grain per *jarīb* and the annual revenue from Egypt was about 12,000,000 dīnārs.

On the report received from Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī the Governor of Kūfah that the Muslim merchants trading in non-Muslim countries were paying 10% on their merchandise, 'Umar imposed 10 % on non-Muslim merchants of *Dār al-Ḥarab* (enemy country) trading in Muslim territory and 5% on the merchandise of the *Dhimmi*s while Muslims were already paying 2½% on their merchandise. This they had to pay on goods worth not less than 200 dirhams.² Wood, seeds, grass and vegetables were exempt from 'Ushur (tithe).

There were certain crown lands (*al-Fayy'*) as the estate of Fadak the income from which was spent on the Prophet's relatives, the orphans, the indigents, the wayfarers and on the general good of the Muslim community. During the time of the pious Caliphs all the lands belonging to fire temples, unclaimed lands and crown lands in the conquered countries were declared as *al-Fayy'* with their income amounting to 7,000,000 pieces.³ Estates confiscated for active opposition to or rebellion against the Muslim State and forests, lands set apart for the construction of roads and maintenance of postal service were included in *al-Fayy'*. 'Umar enunciated that land and money acquired in war constituted *Fayy'* and belonged to the Muslim community. Even after conversion

1. Balādhurī, 124-5, 152, 173-4, 179, 215.

2. Abū Yūsuf, p. 78.

3. *Ibid.*, 22.

to Islām peasants of *al-Fayy'* estates continued to pay land tax as usual. A good portion of *al-Fayy'* lands was assigned to the soldiers and converted to '*Ushri* lands later on. The income from State lands was spent on public works like digging of canals, construction of dams, dykes and tanks.

Public works :—There was no separate department for building and road construction. Still under the instruction of 'Umar and the supervision of the provincial district officials, offices and residences for the officials were built. Among the public works mosques, inns, bridges and roads were constructed. Except treasury other constructions were of ordinary types. The treasury of Kūfah was constructed with the materials of the Persian buildings by a Majūsī masson named Ruzbah.¹ Special care was taken to construct a road between Madīnah and Makkah and to make the journey between these two towns comfortable. At every stage (*manzil* one day's journey) a police outpost, inns and wells were constructed.²

The Ka'bah was extended in 17H/638 A. D. and cover of Qubaṭi an Egyptian manufacture was used as *Ghilāf Ka'bah*. The Prophet's mosque was extended from 100 yards to 140 yards and twenty yards it was extended in the width. Imams and mu'adhdhins were appointed in the mosques which were provided with lights and carpets from his time. The system of religious education was organised and paid preachers, teachers and jurists were appointed all over the conquered countries.

The *Khilafāt* of 'Umar is specially known for the foundation of Camp cities and development of villages into cities and construction of canals. In 14 H/635 A. D. 'Utbah b. Ghazwān laid the foundation of Baṣrah and had it settled by 800

1. Tabarī, see Kūfah.

2. *Ibid.*, 2529.

persons. It grew up so rapidly that by the time of the governorship of Ziyād b. Abū Sufyān the number of pension-holders of this city swelled to 80,000 and their family members to 120,000.

The ancient ruined capital of the 'Arab ruler Nu'mān b. Mundhir in 'Irāq was rebuilt and developed under the name of Kūfah by Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās and residential houses were constructed for 40,000 persons. On the special instructions of 'Umar, the main roads of this city were built twenty yards wide and streets thirty to forty-five feet. The Chief mosque was constructed for the congregational prayers of 40,000 persons¹. A wide verandah of 100 yards long was built in front of the congregational hall. The town reached its glory during the time of 'Umar himself who called it *Ras Islām*. The twin cities of 'Irāq became known for literary and cultural activities and produced a number of renowned scholars.

On the conquest of Egypt 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ laid the foundation of Fustāṭ in a field between the Nile and the Mount Muqaṭṭam where he had pitched his tent originally from which the new city derived its name.² It developed rapidly and had the privilege of being the first 'Arab capital of Egypt. It was the wealth and pride of the West (Al-Maghrib). Jazya was another camp city in Egypt. After the conquest of Alexandria 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ posted a garrison on the sea-coast to guard the country against the Byzantine naval attacks. A fort was constructed there in 21 H/642 A.D. and thus grew up a new town there.

1. *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, VII, see Kūfah.

2. *Ibid.*, see Fustāṭ.

Mawṣil was originally a village but developed into a town by Harthamah b. 'Arfajah. It was called as such as it joined the East and the West.

Canals were dug for irrigating agricultural fields and supplying sweet water to the villages and towns. The most important and useful canal was the *Nahr Amīr al-Mu'minīn* which connected the Nile and the Red Sea and made the transport of Egyptian goods to the Ḥijāz easy.¹ This was the monumental work of 'Umar al-Fārūq. A nine miles long canal called *Nahr Abī Mūsā* was dug to supply sweet water from the Euphrates to the Basrites.² Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās, Governor of Kūfah, got constructed a canal which became known after his name.³ *Nahr Ma'qil* was dug from the Tigris reclaiming waste land and many irrigational canals were constructed in Khuzistān by al-Juz b. Mu'āwiyah. According to Maqrīzī 120,000 labourers were employed in digging canals in Egypt alone.⁴

Large meadows were set apart for grazing state animals from the time of Prophet Muḥammad. There were 400,000 camels and horses in the State pastures during the time of 'Umar.⁵

The Military Organization :—Prophet Muḥammad was not only religious and civil head but also military head of the Muslims. He himself marshalled the Muslim force in all important battles and campaigns and sent detachments under *Amīr al-'Askar* (military commander) on smaller expeditions.

1. Suyūṭī, *Husn al-Muhadarah*, 68

2. *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, 365

3. *Ibid.*, 383.

4. Al-Maqrīzī, I, 76

5. Balādhurī, 8, 9.

He had no department for military affairs but he himself organised and looked after the welfare of the soldiers.¹

On his arrival at Madīnah the Holy Prophet started the military organisation from a humble beginning for defence against the Makkans using the tribal tactics of *karr* and *farr* (strike and run). He had no standing army. For the battle of Badr he could raise only 313 volunteers against 1,000 Makkan well-armed and well-trained soldiers. In the battle he adopted the five winged formation (*ta'biyah*) arranging his men in straight regular ranks. The *sāqah* (rearguard) had the charge of baggage, supplies and pack-animals. Pikemen protected by long shields were placed in the first row to await and receive the enemy attack and the archers were posted in the second line. In the battle of Şiffin, 'Alī arranged his infantry according to the *ṣaff* (straight line) method. In the battle of Badr the Prophet made the best use of his position and in the battle of the Ditch he adopted Persian defensive tactics and protected the undefended part of the city by digging a ditch (*Khandaq*). In the hotly contested battle of Hunayn Prophet Muḥammad adopted a simple stratagem and utilized the wind blowing towards the enemy by throwing dust and sand on the advanced detachments of the enemy. This blinded them and saved the Muslims from the first fury of their attack. In the siege of Ṭā'if, the Prophet employed *manjanīq* (ballista) and *dabbābah* (mantelet made of wood and hide).

The Prophet's successor Abū Bakr proved his military genius in planning even large expeditions and himself remaining at Madīnah for subduing the entire sub-continent of Arabia in about a year's time.

1. Ibn Hiṣḥām (edit. Wustenfeld), I, 433, 454 ; Ṭabarī, I, 319

After the conquest of Persia, Syria and Egypt when the 'Arab Empire extended extensively it became difficult to divide the State's income among all the units of the army without keeping any record. Further 'Umar thought of making gradations between the old and new converts. Therefore, in order to regulate the receipts and disbursement of the revenue, he established a *Dihwān* (Finance Department). After disbursing the expenditure of the revenue collection and civil administration and meeting the military requirements the surplus was spent on the community. A register was maintained of all 'Arab and their *mawālī* (non-Arab Muslim) pension-holders. The widow of the Prophet receiving 12,000 dirhams annually topped the stipend list.¹ Persons who had participated in the battle of Badr were given a pension of 5,000 dirhams each. The same amount was given to the Prophet's uncle 'Abbās, and his two grandsons, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn.² The sons of the warriors of Badr and those who accepted Islām after the conquest of Makkah were given 2,000 dirhams each. Those who accepted Islām before the migration to Abyssinia were allowed 4,000 dirhams each and those who had embraced Islām before the conquest of Makkah received 3,000 each. Theologians and others who had rendered special services to Islām were given high pensions.³ The 'Arab soldiers and their *mawālī* received 400 dirhams each.⁴ The wives and children of the soldiers who had fallen in battle or were in active service were assigned 100 dirhams. Every Muslim child received an annuity and as he grew up his annuity increased. The slaves

1. Abū Yūsuf, 25

2. *Ibid.*, 25

3. *Ibid.*, p. 25

4. *Ibid.*

also received annuities equal to their masters. There were separate registers for the regular and standing army and for those who could be called in for active service.

Non-‘Arab Muslims who were given secondary position in the Muslim society were kept in reserve to help the fighting Muslim soldiers when required. The intelligence officers were recruited generally from among the non-Muslims. A Jew named Yūsuf served as such in the siege of Qasāriyah.¹ The Magians supplied information about the enemy movements in ‘Irāq. Four thousand Daylamites, who had joined Yazdgird’s army, joined the Muslims after the battle of Qādisiyah. They were separately registered. Many Indian Jats who were settled in ‘Irāq and served in the Persian army accepted Islām and received annuities. Many Magians joined Muslim force as members of volunteer corps and received regular salaries.

This was the first attempt made in the history of the world for the State to take upon itself the collective responsibility for supply of food and clothing for the entire population. Even a critic like Muir did not fail to appreciate ‘Umar’s introduction of the Dīwān. “A great nation dividing amongst them their whole revenues, spoils and conquests, first on the principle of equal brotherhood, and next on that of martial merit and spiritual distinction, is a spectacle probably without parallel in the world ”² This preserved the identity of the ‘Arabs and saved them who then numbered only about 150,000 from being absorbed in the more populous conquered countries. The system of paying regular salaries to the soldiers attached them to the rulers directly unlike

1. *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, 148

2. Muir, *Annals of Early Caliphate*, 227

the Byzantine and Persian soldiers who were attached to the landlords since the feudal military system was prevalent in Syria and Persia. But as this system combined military and civil pensions into one it could not work for long.

With a view to organize the Muslim 'Arabs into a martial aristocracy 'Umar did not allow them to acquire lands outside Arabia or to settle with non-Muslims in their towns. Accordingly military camps were opened in the countries. There were five camps in Syria, one in Palestine, two in 'Irāq and two in Egypt viz., al-Jabiyah, Ḥims, Amwās, Tabariyah and al-Ludd (Lydda) in Syria, Ramlah in Palestine, Kūfah and Baṣrah in 'Irāq and Fuṣṭāṭ and Jazyah in Egypt.

There were regular well-ventilated barracks for soldiers and huge stables for about 40 000 horses, and a record office and provision store in each camp. The horses were branded on their haunches, 'Fighter in the way of God' (*Jaysh fī sabīl Allāh*).¹ Special arrangement was made for breeding superior varieties of horses. There were also military barracks in big cities and on strategic positions.

Attached to each military station was *al-'Arīf* (the pay master) to disburse salaries. Every tribe had an 'Arīf and he received 100,000 dirhams which he distributed among his soldiers through his subordinate officers. There were a hundred 'Arīfs in Kūfah and Baṣrah through whom 10,000,000 dirhams were distributed. The officers were paid 7,000 to 10,000 dirhams and the soldiers 200 dirhams annually. Subsequently each soldier's emolument was raised to 300 dirhams. Soldiers on active service received also free rations,

1. *Kanz al-'Ummāl*, II, 231

dress, medical aid etc. and their wives and children drew pensions from the treasury. Besides this regular income they had their shares in the four-fifths of the booty.¹ Often the emoluments of the soldiery were increased in appreciation of their services. Thus the salaries of the warriors of Qādisiyyah namely Zahrah, 'Asma, Dabi etc. were increased from 2,000 to 2,500 dirhams.

Swimming, horse-riding, artillery practice and bare-footed marching were among the items of compulsory training. Soldiers had to live hard lives. During marches, soldiers had their weekly rests on Fridays and after every four months' of active service they were allowed leave to go to their houses.² Special care was taken for maintaining sound health of the soldiers and assuring their comforts expeditions were sent to hot countries in winter and to cold countries in summer.

Soldiers were graded into units of tens, hundreds and thousands. The officer-in-charge of ten soldiers was *Amīr al-'Ashrah* (*decurion*), that of the hundred, *al-Qā'id* (lieutenant) and that of thousand, *Amīr* (commander). The army was consisted of *al-raḡil* (infantry), *al-fursān* (the cavalry), *al-rumal* (the archers), *al-ghilām* (service corps), *al-tabl'ah* (scouts) and *al-rtd* (rear-scouts). The system of maintaining a body-guard was instituted by the Governor of Syria, Mu'āwiyah. It was his body-guard who saved him from the fierce attack of Malik al-Ashtar in the battle field of Ṣiffīn.

Against Syria and Persia the entire 'Arab race had been mobilised, although the 'Arab' armies were always inferior to them in numbers. There were 4,000 soldiers in Kufah.³

1. Ṭabarī, I, 2204-5

2. Abū Dā'ud, *Kitāb al-Kharāj*, Chapter on soldiery

3. Ṭabarī, I, 2850; *al-Fārūq* (Urdū), I, Lahore, 348

According to Ibn Sa'd every year 3,000 new soldiers were recruited.¹ About 10,000 soldiers were kept ready for war. In the battle of Šiffin 'Alī mustered 90,000 and Mu'āwiyah 85,000.²

Among the weapons that the Muslim soldiers used were swords mostly double edged,³ lances, bows and arrows smaller in size than the Persian ones⁴ and slings. Coats of mail which being costly were seldom used. Shields and helmets were the arms of protection. Mantelets (wooden *dabbābah*), catapults (ballistas) and hole-makers (*naqqabun*) were used to attack forts and towns. Barricades and ditches were used in defending the camps and cities.

The army marched in battle order, the scouts marching ahead of the vanguard reconnoitering and rear scouts following the rearguard. Bag and baggages, women and children, sick and wounded, flocks and herds moved with the rearguard.

Al ra'id, an officer, was appointed to choose a suitable place for encampment. The camp in the enemy country was protected by a fire ditch and barricades and was guarded by sentries.

In the beginning the 'Arab army did not have any organised system of supply. The supplies of necessary articles for the army were later regularised by opening *Ahra* (the Army Supply Department) and 'Umar appointed 'Āmir b. 'Utbah to organise it.

The waving of flags served the purpose of alarm bells and signals on the battlefield. The first wave meant a break up for attending calls of nature and offering prayers

1. Ṭabarī, I, 2850

2. Al-Mas'ūdī, IV, 344

3. Balādhurī, 55

4. *Ibid*, 55.

etc., the second wave indicated an alert and the third was the signal for a solid attack on the enemy. It is recorded that the Muslim general Nu'mān used flags for giving such signals.¹

In organisation, supplies, weapons, technical skill, tactics and in morale the Muslims surpassed the Persians and Byzantines and proved their worth by achieving victories against huge armies with lesser numbers. Muslims won several battles because of their great valour and superior tactics.

In the battle of *Waljah*, Khālid threw his reserve soldiers kept in ambush at the critical moment of the battle and won it. As substitutes for helmets² Muslim soldiers bound leather throngs round their heads and charged the enemy at close quarter with their lances and swords in the battle of Qādisiyah. The Muslims took courage in their fight against the Persian elephants and cut off their trunks and the girdles of their howdas frightening the animals and killing their riders who toppled down. In order to frighten the horses of the enemy they covered their camels with white blankets and led them against the enemies. As the occasion demanded the Muslims put their resources in men and armour and drew the advantages of the fighting position to the best of their utility. Khālid won the battle of Yarmūk against the Byzantines by re-arranging his troops in thirty-eight *Kurdus* (cohorts) of more than one thousand each and attacking the enemy from two sides and pressing the attack from the centre.³ At close quarters the 'Arab horsemen

1. Balādhuri, 55

2. Levy, *Sociology of Islam*, II, 303

3. Tabarī, I, 2093; al-Khudrī, I, 276-8

set aside their bows and arrows and used swords. In short it was because of their military genius, discipline studied by their religious faith the Muslims conquered so many countries despite the superiority of the enemies in numbers, arms and equipments.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abu Dā'ūd** — *Sunan*, II, Delhi, 1319 H.
 — *Kitāb al-Kharāj*.
- Abu'l Faraj al-Iṣfahānī** — *Kitāb al-Āghānī*, Bulāq, 21 Vols. 1284-5 H.
- Abu'l Fidā** — *Mukhtaṣar Ta'riḫ-Bashar*, I, Egypt, 1325 H.
- Abu Tammām** — *Diwān al-Ḥamāsah*, 1940
- Abu Yūsuf, Qādī,** — *Kitāb al-Kharāj*, Bulāq, 1302 H
- Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal** — *Musnad*, I-VI, Egypt, 1313 H
- Amcer Ali** — *A Short History of the Saracens*, London, 1963
 — *Spirit of Islam*, London, 1949
- Arnold, T. W.** — *The Preaching of Islam*, 2nd ed. London, 1913.
 — *The Caliphate*, Oxford, 1924
- Arnold, Thomas** — *The Legacy of Islam*, London, 1931
- Azdi** — *Futūḥ al-Shām*
- Balādhuri,** — *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, ed, De Goeje, Leyden, 1866
 Engl. tr. by P. K. Hitti, Vol. I, Newyork, 1916
- Al-Baṣrī** — *Futūḥ al-Shām* edit. by W. N. Lees, Calcutta, 1853-4
- Bell, M.** — *The Administration of Egypt under the Umayyad Caliphate*, 1928.
- Bevan. E. R.** — *House of Seleucus*, I, London, 1902.
- Briggs, M. S.** — *Mohammadan Architecture in Egypt and Palestine*, Oxford, 1924.

- Browne — *A Literary History of Persia*, vols. I-IV, London, 1929
- Bukhārī — *Al-Jāmi' al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, I, II, III, IV, VII, Bulāq 1296.
— *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*
- Bury — *A History of the Later Roman Empire*, London, 1889
- Butler — *The Arab Conquest of Egypt and the last Thirty years of the Roman Dominion*, Oxford, 1902.
- Cambridge Medieval History*, Vol. II, XI, New York, 1957.
- Charles Oman — *A History of the Art of War in the Middle Ages*, London, 1924.
- Der Islam*, XII, Berlin, 1922 (Article by Joseph Horowitz).
- Al-Dhahabī — *Ta'likirat al-Ḥuffāz*, I-IV, Hyderabad, 1333 H.
- Dickson, H. R. P. — *The Arab of the Desert*, London, 1949.
- Al-Dīnawarī Abī Hanīfah, — *al-Akḥbār al-Ṭiwāl*, Leyden, 1888.
Encyclopaedia Britannica, 11th edit.
Encyclopaedia of Islam, Vol. I.
- Ḡulām Sarwar, Ḥāfiẓ — *Muhammad the Holy Prophet*, Lahore, 1949
- Guillaume, A. — *The Life of Muhammad*, London, 1955, Engl. tr. of Ibn Ishāq's *Sīrat Rasūl Allāh*
- Ḥāfiẓ b. Ḥajar — *Fath al-Bārī*, Egypt, vols. III, VII, VIII, IX
- Hamilton and Grady — *Hidāyah, A commentary on the Muhammadan Law*, London, 1870.
- Hitti, P. K. — *History of the Arabs*, London, 1951.
- Husaini, S. A. Q. — *Arab Administration*, Lahore, 1957.
- Ibn al-Athīr — *Al-Kāmil fī al-Ta'rikh*, 14 vols. C.J. Tornberg, II, Leyden, 1851-76.

- Ibn al-Athīr, — *Usd al-Ghābah fi Ma'rifat al-Ṣaḥābah*, Vol. IV, Cairo, 1286 H.
- Ibn al Faqīh — *Kitāb al-Buldān*, ed. De Goeje, Leyden, 1302 H.
- Ibn Ḥajar, — *Al-Isābah fi Tamyiz al-Ṣaḥābah*, Cairo, 1907.
- Ibn Ḥawqal — *Al-Masālik wa al-Mamālik*, ed. De Goeje, Leyden 1872.
- Ibn Hishām, Muḥammad — *Sirat al-Rasul Allāh*, 2 vols. ed. Wusten-feld, Gottingen, 1858
- Ibn Ishāq — *Sirat Rasūl Allāh*, tr. by A. Guillaume, Oxford, 1955.
- Ibn Nadīm — *Al-Fihrist*, Egypt, 1348 H.
- Ibn Sa'd — *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vols. I, II, III, ed. by Sachau, Leyden, 1904
- Al-Ifadah wal I'tibār*, ed. & tr. Latin by J. White, Oxford, 1800.
- Ibn 'Abd al-Rabbih — *'Iqd al-Farīd*, III
- Imamuddin, S. M. — *Property of the Holy Prophet in the Voice of Islam*, Karachi, 1964
- Irving, Washington — *Lives of the Successors of Mahomet*, 1850
- Al-Jāhiz — *Al-Bayān wa al-Tābi'yin*, vols. I-III, Egypt, 1926-7
- Al-Jāhiz — *Majmū'ah al-Rasā'il*, Cairo, 1324.
- Al-Jahshiyārī — *Kitāb al-Wuzarā' wa al-Kutāb*, Cairo, 1938
- Jurjizaydān — *Ta'rīkh al-Tamaddun al-Islāmī*, vols I-V, Egypt, 1902-22
- Kanz al-'Ummāl fi Sunani'l-Aḥwal*, 8 vols, Cairo, 1312 H.
- Khaṭīb — *Mishkat*

- Khuda Bakhsh** — *Islamic Civilization*, 2 vols., Calcutta, 1930
- Al-Khudrī** — *Ta'rikh Umami'l Islāmiyah*, 3 vols., Cairo, 1934.
- Lambers, H.** — *Etudes sur le siecle de Omayyads*, Beyrout 1930.
- Levy** — *An Introduction to the Sociology of Islam*, 2 vols, London, 1931
- Maḥmūd Aḥmad 'Abbāsī** — *Khilāfat Mu'āwiyah wa Yazīd*, Karachi, 1960
- Maqrīzī** — *Khiṭaṭ al-Miṣr*, 2 vols, Bulaq, 1270 H
- Margoliouth, D. S.** — *Mohammed and the Rise of Islam*, London, 1905.
- Mas'ūdī** — *Murūj al-Dhahab*, 9, vols., Paris, 1861-71.
- Al-Mawardi** — *Al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭāniyah*, Egypt, 1298
- Mez** — *The Renaissance of Islam*, Engl. tr. by Khuda Bakhsh, London, 1937.
- Muḥammad 'Alī** — *Muhammad the Prophet*, London, 1951
- *Early Caliphate*, Lahore, 1932.
- Hasan Ali** — *Rasul-i-Akram ki Siyāsī Zindagi*, Karachi, 1961.
- Allah** — *The Battlefields of Prophet Muḥammad*, Waking, 1953.
- Mu'in al-Dīn, Aḥmad** — *Ta'rikh i-Islām*, I, Azamgarh, 1952.
- Mu'in al-Dīn, Ḥājī,** — *Khulafā'-i-Rāshidīn*, Azamgarh, 1304/1954

- Muir, William — *The Life of Mahomet*, London, 1858
- *Annals of the Early Caliphate*, London, 1883.
- *The Caliphate, Its Rise, Decline and Fall*, Edinburgh, 1915.
- Muslim — *Ṣaḥīḥ*, I-VII, Cairo, 1330
- Mustadrak Ḥakim*, Hyderabad, 1334-40H.
- O 'Leary — *Arabia Before Mohammad*, London, 1927
- Qudāmāh — *Kitāb al-Kharāj*, Leyden, 1306 H.
- Revue des etudes Islamiques*, Paris, 1933.
- Shiblī Nu'mānī — *Sīrat al-Nabī*, I, Azamgarh, 1264 A. H.
- *Al-Fārūq*, 2 vols, Lakhnaw, 1414
- Engl. tr. *Umar the Great*, vols. I, II, Lahore, 1939, 1951
- Al-Suyūṭī — *Al-Muzhir*, Cairo, 1282.
- *Ta'riḥ al-khulafā*, Cairo, 1315 H.
- *Ḥusn al-Muḥādarah fi Miṣr wa al-Qāhirah*, 2 vols., Cairo, 1299. H.
- Ṭabarī — *Ta'riḥ al-Umam wa al-Mulūk*, III, IV, VI.
- (*Ta'riḥ-i-Ṭabarī*) ed. de Goeje, Leyden, 1889-1901
- Von Kremer — *The Orient Under the Caliphs*, Engl. tr. by Khudā Bakhsh, Calcutta, 1920.
- Wāqidī — *Kitab al-Maḡhazī*, ed. Von Kremer, Calcutta, 1855 H.
- Gr. tr. Wellhausen, Berlin, 1882.

- Watt, A. M. — *Muhammad at Mecca*, Oxford, 1953
 — *Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford, 1956
- Yahya bin Adam — *Kitāb al-Kḥārāj*, Cairo, 1347 H.
 Ya'qūbī — *Ta'rīkh* ed. M. Th. Houtsma,
 Leyden, 1883
 — *Kitāb al-Buldān*, Leyden, 1885.
- Yāqūt — *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, III, VII,
 ed. Wustenfeld, Leipzig, 1866-70

INDEX

- Abbādād b. Šāmat, 191
 'Abbādah b. *Thābit*, 185
 'Abbās, son of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, 3,
 25, 68, 69, 71-2, 213, 252
 'Abbasid caliph, 29
 —historians, 217-8
 —views, 25
 'Abbasids, XIII, 190
 'Abd Allāh, 166
 'Abd Allāh (Abū Bakr), 101, 210
 'Abd Allāh, 166 ('Uthmān), 167
 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abbās, 212
 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, 1,
 3, 168
 'Abd Allāh ibn Abī Sarḥ, 157, 174-
 7, 184, 186, 188, 194
 'Abd Allāh b. Abū 'l Akram, 99
 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Umayyah, 71,
 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr, 27
 'Abd Allāh b. ibn 'Āmir, 171-3, 182,
 187-8, 194, 210
 'Abd Allāh b. Arqam, 187, 230, 242
 'Abd Allāh b. Arqat, 27
 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥaḍramī, 40
 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥamsā, 7
 'Abd Allāh ibn Ḥudhāfah, 65
 'Abd Allāh b. Jaḥsh, 39
 'Abd Allāh b. Jud'an, 6
 'Abd Allāh b. Khabbāb, 219
 'Abd Allāh b. Khaṭal, 73
 'Abd Allāh b. Khuzā'i, 236
 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd, 92, 127, 173,
 184-5, 187, 191, 193, 236, 242
 'Abd Allāh ibn Nafi' b. Abū al-
 Qays, 176
 'Abd Allāh b. Qays, 174
 —b. Rawāhah, 79, 245
 —b. Saba, 182-4, 232
 —b. Sa'id, 194
 —b. *Thābit*, 185
 —b. Ubayy, 35, 39, 45,
 47-8, 55, 66, 80, 93, 198
 —b. 'Umar, 129, 209
 —b. Wahb al-Rasibi, 219,
 220
 —b. Zubayr, 171, 232
 'Abd al-Lāṭif al-Baghdādī, 155
 'Abd al-Malik, 232
 'Abd Manāf, 168.
 'Abd al-Masiḥ, 82
 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, 1-3
 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Bakr, 43,
 124
 —b. Arqam, 184
 —b. 'Awf, 13, 31, 51, 102,
 105, 124, 150, 163, 169-
 70, 235, 238
 —b. 'Ubayd al-Qarī, 242
 'Abd al-'Uzza (Abū Lahab), 15
 'Abraha (Abyssinian Viceroy), XXIII,
 6, 14, 23
 Abraham (Prophet Ibrāhīm), XXV,
 1, 7, 30, 87, 140
 'Abs, XIX
 Abū 'Amr ('Uthmān), 167

- Abū Anas, XXIX
 Abū'l 'Āṣ, 44
 Abū'l Aswad al-Du'ali, 224
 Abū Ayyūb Anṣārī, 28
 Abū Ayyūb Khālīd, 27
 Abū Bakr b. Abū Q̣hālīh, 13-4, 17, 26-7, 43, 51, 60, 70, 80, 85-6, 88-9, 95, 101-7, 111, 114-5, 118-22, 124-5, 127-9, 134-5, 145, 149, 152, 167-9, 171, 180, 186, 188, 192, 201-3, 205-7, 223-4, 230, 232, 234-235, 241, 243
 Abū Dardā, 238
 Abū Dḥar Ghaffārī, 17, 92, 178, 185, 191, 205
 Abū Diyānah, 51
 Abū Ḥaṣṣ ('Umar), 130
 Abū'l Ḥasan ('Alī), 201
 Abū'l Haytham b. at-Tayyihān, 25
 Abū Hurayrah, 238, 240
 Abū Jahl, XII, 26, 37, 42-3
 Abū Jandal (son of Suhayl), 62, 65
 Abū Lahab, 2-3, 15, 18-21
 Abū Lū'lū Fīrūz, 162, 194
 Abū Mihjān Ṭhaqafī, 159, 240
 Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī, 172, 184, 187, 195, 211, 216, 247
 Abū Quhāfah ('Uthmān b. 'Amir), 101
 Abū Rafī', 27
 Abū Salmah, 38
 Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb, 3, 15, 37-8, 40-2, 44, 46-7, 53, 55-6, 69, 70, 72, 77-8, 86, 93, 168
 Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarīth, XXVI, 71
 Abū Ṭalīb, XX, 3-6, 16, 19, 21, 63, 73, 96, 201-2
 Abū Turāb ('Alī), 201
 Abū 'Ubaydah b. Jarrah, 13, 36, 83, 104, 123, 126, 137
 Abū 'Ubaydah al-Ṭhaqafī, 136-7, 146-52
 Abwa, 2
 Abyssinia, XII, XX, XXII, 17-8, 20, 24, 65-6, 68, 94, 102, 168, 252
 Abyssinian Christians, 20
 —colonists, XX
 —expedition, 6
 —slave, 133, 166
 Abyssinians, the, XXI, 17, 54
 Academie Francaise, XX
 'Adan, XIV
 Adhān, 30, 133
 Adharbā'ijān, 145, 172, 236
 Adhruh (Dumat al-Jandal), 217
 Adhrah (Adhruh), 80
 'Adiy, ancestor of Caliph 'Umar, 130
 'Adiy clan, 130
 'Adnān, XX
 Africa, 184
 African coasts, 200
 —slave, 115
 Ahabish, 102
 Aḥdāth, 238
 Ahl al-Bādiyah, 227
 Ahl al-Ḥadarah, 227
 Ahl al-Suffah, 53
 Ahwās, 222
 Ahwāz, 142, 143
 Aḥzab, battle, 51, 57-8, 66
 Ā'ishah bint Abū Bakr, 50, 88, 105, 125, 170, 197, 217, 219, 242

- Ajah, range, XI
 Ajnadayn, 124, 145
 Akelon, 112
 Akkadian, XX
 Al-‘Alā, 113
 ‘Alā ibn al-Ḥaḍrami, 116
 ‘Alā b. ‘Uqbah, 230
 Aleppo, XXIII
 Alexander, 159
 Alexandria, 150, 152-6, 175, 177, 185, 249
 ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭalīb, 3, 8, 13, 16, 26-7, 55, 70-1, 86, 105-6, 112, 127, 129, 149, 163, 167, 170, 182-3, 185-6, 190, 193, 195-6, 201-225, 230, 232, 234-5, 238-9, 251, 256
 ‘Alī clan, 42
 ‘Āmil, 156, 240-1
 Al-Amīn, 7, 14, 92
 Āminah bint Wahb, 1-2
 Amīr, 156, 230
 ‘Āmir b. Ṭufayl, 83
 Amīr al-‘Askar, 250, 255
 Amīr b. ‘Utbah, 256
 Amīr al-Baḥr, 174, 184
 ‘Ammār b. Yasīr, 184-5, 187, 191, 207, 236, 241
 ‘Amr b. ‘Abd Wudd, 55
 ‘Amr b. ‘Abd Zudd, 203
 ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ, 56, 63, 69, 122, 147-50, 152-7, 159, 166, 174-5, 184-5, 194, 214, 216-8, 221, 223, 236, 241, 244, 249
 ‘Amr b. Bakr, 223
 ‘Amr b. al-Ḥaḍramī, 39-40
 ‘Amru b. Jamrūz, 211
 ‘Amr b. Salīm, 69
 ‘Amrū b. Ummiyah, 51
 Amwāl al-Ṣadaqāt, 230
 Amwās (Emmaus), 151, 254
 Al-‘Anbar, 121
 Anṣārs, 25, 28, 30-4, 36, 38, 42, 49, 71, 77, 90, 104-6, 124, 163, 230, 235
 Anṭākiyah (Antioch), 124, 146-8, 150, 152
 Al-‘Aqābah, Gulf of, XI, XV, 24-5, 80
 Aqrā b. Ḥabis, 77
 Aqrah, 115
 ‘Arab, 225, 228, 252
 ‘Arab administration, 227, 256
 —army, 147
 —Bedouins, XXVII, 75, 184
 —capital, 249
 —chiefs, 79
 —cities, XV
 —Christian States, 121
 —custom, 2
 —Empire, 252
 —force, 144
 —historians, 131
 —horsemen, 257
 —lands, 118
 —malcontents, 181
 —merchants, XIV, 181
 —methods, 6
 —nomads, XVI, XVII, 22, 157
 —outposts, 142
 ‘Arab-Persian border, 123
 —poets, XVIII, XIX, 86, 159
 —port, 157
 —race, XX, 255
 —ruler, 249

- ships, XIX, 177
- soldiers, 252, 255-6
- state, 118
- tribes, X, XII, XIII, XV, XVI, XVII, XVIII, XX, 23, 45, 52, 58, 62, 64, 75, 81, 85, 118, 121, 123, 179, 182, 205
- women, XII
- youths, 7
- Arabs**, the, IX, X, XII, XIV, XV, XVI, XX, XXII, XXIII, XXIV, XXV, XXVI, XXVII, XXVIII, 2, 13-4, 17, 59, 66, 74, 79, 84-6, 89, 95-6, 104, 107, 114, 116, 118-9, 131, 136-7, 139, 146, 147, 149, 152-3, 156-7, 163, 167, 171-2, 179, 182, 188, 210, 227-8, 253
- Arabia**, IX, X, XI, XIII, XIV, XV, XVI, XVII, XX, XXI, XXII, XXIV, XXVII, XXVIII, XXIX, XXX, 29, 36, 53-6, 59, 65-6, 70, 74, 79, 80, 82, 84-6, 105, 107, 111, 113, 115-7, 119, 121-2, 146, 159, 167, 180, 192, 203, 213, 218, 221-2, 228-9, 232, 243-4, 251, 254
- Arabic**, 192
- Arabian coasts**, X
 - ‘Irāq, 135
- ‘Arafāt**, 75, 85, 87
- Arbad b. Qays**, 83
- Aretion (Artabun)**, 152
- Al-‘Arīf**, 254
- Arish** (Rafj, Rafḥ), 153
- Ark**, XXV
- Armaic**, XX
- Armenia**, 173, 185, 188
- Armenian chiefs**, 145
- Al-Arqam**, 17, 19, 132
- Artabas**, 155
- Artabūn (Aretion)**, 149
- Arwa**, mother of ‘Uthmān, 167
- Arwad (Ardus)**, 174
- Aryan culture**, 172
- ‘Aṣ b. Hishām b. Mughīrah**, 133
- ‘Aṣ b. Wāṣil**, 133
- Asabiyah**, XVII, XVIII, 16, 96
- Asad**, the, 54
- As‘ad b. Zurārah**, 24
- Al-A‘sha**, 86
- Aṣhāb al-Ṣuffah**, 29
- Ash‘ath b. Qays**, Da‘i, 110, 111, 151
- Ash‘ath b. Qays al-Kindī**, 220
- Al-‘Aṣhrah**, 255
- Ash‘ari**, 217-8
- Ashtar Nakh‘i**, 183, 207, 211, 213
- Asia Minor**, XXIV, 150, 152, 173, 214
- ‘Āsim b. ‘Umar**, 138, 141
- ‘Āsma’ bint Abū Bakr**, 27, 125, 255
- Al-Aswad**, Hajar, 9, 74, 92
- Aswad ‘Ansī**, 110, 117
- ‘Attab b. Asid**, 73
- ‘Atbah b. Rābi‘ah**, 15-6
- Autas**, battle field, 75
- ‘Awāliyah**, 133
- Aws tribe**, XIX, XXI, 22-3, 25, 35, 117
- ‘Aws b. Sawdah**, XXX
- ‘Aws b. Thābit**, 168
- Ayād**, 145
- Ayhabah Dhu’l Himar**, 117
- ‘Aylah**, 80

- Ayliya, 236
 'Ayn *Shams* (Heliopolis), 154
 Ayn al-Tamr, 121
 'Ayniyah b. Ḥiṣn, 114
 Ayyād b. Ghānam, 191, 240
Ayyām al-'Arab, XVIII,
Ayyām al-Jāhiliyat, XIX, XXV,
 Azzah, 223
 Babel, 140
 Babylon, XXI, 12, 153-5
 Babylonia, 140, 143
 Babylonian Empire, XV
 —settlements, XV
 Babylonians, XXII
 Bactrian camels, 116
 Badr, 4, 31, 36, 39-42, 44-7, 51, 53,
 58, 65, 70, 79, 103, 138, 166, 169,
 202-203
 Baghdād, 137, 140
 Baḥīra (Buḥayra), 4 •
 Bahman, 120, 137
 Al-Baḥrayn, XV, 83, 113, 116, 118,
 120, 125, 142, 236, 238
 Barsan, 146
 Bakr b. 'Abd Allāh, 223
 Bakr, banī, 218
 Balādhuri, 131, 145
 Balkh, 172
 Al-Balqā, 78, 146
 Banī 'Abd al Qays, 116
 Banī Aḥs, 112
 Banī Dhūbyān, 112
 Banī Nājiyah, 222
 Banī Qurayzah, 202-3
 Banū 'Alī, 42
 Banū 'Āmir, 51, 83
 Banū As'ad, 39, 83
 Banū Asad, 110, 114
 Banū Aws, 24, 32, 40, 49
 Banu Bakr, XIX, 46, 57, 64, 69, 109,
 115-6
 Banū Bajilah, 83, 140
 Banū Damrah, 38, 58
 Banū Daws, 63
 Banū Ghassān, 23
 Banū Ghatfān, 110, 114
 Banū Ghifar, 41
 Banū Ḥarith, 82
 Banū Ḥamzah, 38
 Banū Ḥanīfah, 82, 109, 115
 Banū Ḥaṣhim, XX, 1, 3-4, 6, 8,
 15-6, 19-21, 26, 168, 179, 182,
 188-9, 202, 208-9
 Banū Hawāzin, 86
 Banū Hudhahl, XXV
 Banū Ijl, 47
 Banū Jushm, 75
 Banū Ka'b, 83, 85
 Banū Kindah, 82, 117
 Banū Khazraj, 24, 32, 40, 49
 Banū Khuz'ah, 54, 59, 64, 69, 71-2,
 85
 Banū Kinānah, 6
 Banū Kindah, 236
 Banū Liḥyān, 53
 Banū Makhzūm, 9
 Banū Mudlij, 38, 58
 Banū Mustaliq, 85
 Banū Muṭṭalib, 20
 Banū Naḍir, 22-3, 32, 51, 53, 55, 57,
 66
 Banū Najjār, 29
 Banū Naṣr, 75
 Banū Nawfal, 26

- Banū Numayr, XIX
 Banū Qaynuqa' 31, 45, 51, 57
 Banū Qays b. 'Aṣim, XXVI
 Banū Qurayzah, 22-3, 32, 51, 55-7, 121
 Banū Sa'd, 2
 Banū Salīm, 30, 133
 Banū Sh̄aybān, 134
 Banū Taghlib, XIX, 82, 110, 118, 121
 Banū Tamīm, XXVI, 6, 85, 110, 111, 114-5
 Banū Tayyī, 114, 219
 Banū Thaqīf, XXV, 22, 46, 75, 77, 86
 Banū Umayyah, 179
 Banū Ummiyah, 9, 168, 179, 182, 190
 Banū Yarbū', 110, 114
 Banū Zafar, 24
 Banū Zahrah, 1, 6, 8
 Banū Zuhrah, 42
 Baqī' (grazingfield), 185, 191
 Baqum, Greek architect, 9
 Al-Bara', poet, 25
 Barqah, 176
 Barrad b. Qays, 6
 Al-Baṣrah, 120, 142-3, 153, 171-2, 182-3, 187-8, 192, 20-183, 220-21, 234, 236, 248, 254
 Basrites, the, 181, 183, 187, 195, 204, 210, 250
 Baṣūṣ war, XIX
 Battle of Jisr (Bridge), 137
 Bayḍā, grandmother of 'Uthmān, 168
 Ba'yt, 105, 232
 Bayt Jibrīn, 124
 Bayt al-Māl, 32, 85, 129, 164, 173, 188, 233, 242
 Bayt al-Muqaddas (Jerusalem), 21
 Ba'yt al-Riḍwān, 61, 169
 Ba'yt al-Shajarah, 61
 Becker, 161
 Bedouins, the, IX, XVII, XVIII, XXIV, XXVIII, 75, 77, 82, 85, 109, 112, 113, 116, 163, 181, 187, 205-6, 211
 Benjamin, 156
 Bevan, IX
 Bible, the, 11
 Bīlāl b. Ribāh, Abyssinian slave, 13, 30, 43, 68, 133, 166
 Bilbeis, Bilbays, 153
 Bīr 'Amr, 199
 Bīr Ma'ūnah, 53
 Bīr Rumah, 168
 Bīr Sā'ib, 199
 Bīr Urays, 199
 Bīshr ibn Bara', 68
 Bīshr b. Sufyān, 59, 85
 Bīṭā, XXV
 Bīṭāh, 115
 Black Sea, 173, 198
 Bu'ath, 23, 32
 Budayl b. Waraqā', 59, 60, 69
 Burāq, 21
 Burs, tribe, 140
 Busr b. Abī Arṭāt, 222
 Buṣra (Bostra), 4, 8, 78, 114, 123
 Buṣra (Eski Shām), 123
 Bustām, 140
 Buwat, 38

- Buwayb, 132
 Buzakhah, 114
 Byzantine army, 145
 —commercial activities, XVII, XXII
 —column, 123
 —dīnār, 242
 —Empire, XXIX, 118, 157
 —Emperor, XXIX, 78-9, 93
 —fleet, 174, 177, 249
 —fortress, 8
 —governor, 152
 —hosts, 198
 —Legions, 148
 —markets, XXIII,
 —possessions, 154
 —raids, 173, 198
 —ruler, 65
 —soldiers, 161, 173, 176, 254
 Byzantines, XVII, XXI, XXII, XXIII, XXIX, 79-81, 88, 118-9, 122, 124, 127, 145, 148, 154, 158, 161, 174, 176, 184, 198, 200, 216, 242, 246
 Byzantium, XXIII, XXIV
 Caesar, the, 60, 79, 118, 150, 154-6, 173
 Caesarea (Qaysariyah), 122
 Caetani, 161
 Cairo, 153
 Carthage (Qartājannah), 176
 Caspian Sea, XXIII, 172,
 Catholic Church, 822
 Central Arabia, XIX
 Central Asia, 214
 Ceylon, XXII, XXIII,
 Ceylonese products, XXIII
 Chalcis (Qinnisrin), 148
 Chaldea (Mesopotamia), 118-20
 Chaldean cult, XXIX
 Charter of Madinah, 33-5
 China, XXIII, 171-2
 Chosroes, the, 60, 65, 118-9, 141, 143
 Chosraes II, XXIV (Parwiz),
 Christendom, 123
 Christ, XXVIII
 Christian Arab tribes, 137
 —Arabs, XXVII, XXIX,
 —Bedouin tribes, 145
 —colonists, XXII
 —patriarchs, 146
 —priest, 164
 —rulers, 148
 —scriptures, 4
 —tribes, 66, 80-1, 145
 Christianity, XXIX, XXX, 90, 121, 123, 147
 Christians, XIII, XXIII, XXVIII, XXIX, 5, 17, 21, 36, 78-82, 84, 98, 109, 119, 124, 146-9, 163-5, 179
 Church of Constantine, 150
 —of Resurrection, 150
 Constantinople, 78, 149, 173
 Constans (Qustantin), II, 154-5, 177
 Coptic artisans, 29
 —language, 242
 —Christians, 124
 —patriarch, 156
 Copts, 154-6, 246
 Ctesiphon (al-Mada'in), 139, 140
 Cypriots, the, 174, 245
 Cyprus, 173-4, 185, 188, 198, 245
 Cyrus (Muqawqis), 154-6

- Daba, 116
 Dabbābah, 251, 256
 Dabi, 255
 Dahana, X
 Dajnān, 131
 Damascus, XXIV, 123-4, 145-7, 152, 173, 192, 204, 206, 208, 213, 217-8, 223, 231-2, 245
 Dandam b. Amr, 41
 Dār al-Amīrat, 240
 —al-Ḥarab, 247
 Darīn, 116
 Dastgird, XXIV
 Dathīn, 122
 Dā'ūd, Prophet, 100
 David, XXVIII
 Dawasir, X
 Day of Bu'ath, XVIII, 32
 Day of Dahis, XIX
 Days of al-Fijār, XIX
 Daybul (Deibul), 145
 Daylam, 161
 Daylamites, 253
 De Goeje, 147
 Dead Sea, the, 78-9, 122
 Deibul (Daybul), 145
 Dhāt al-Riqā', 53, 169
 Dhāt al-Salāsil, 120
 Dhāt al-Sawāī, 177
 Dhīmmis, 129, 163, 185, 245, 247
 Dhu'l Khālaṣah Temple (Yamani Ka'bah), 83
 Dhu'l Majāz, 5, 20
 Dhu'l Marwah, 65
 Dhū al-Nurayn ('Uṭīmān), 167
 Dhū Qar, battle, 47, 119, 211
 Dhū Qarad, 53
 Dhū al-Qassah, 112
 Dhūlyan, XIX
 Dihqans, 140, 245
 Dihyah b. Khalīfah, 78
 Dimashq, 152
 Dīn, 108
 Dīnār, 146-7, 242, 244
 Ditch, the battle, 202, 251
 Diwān, 157, 240, 242, 252-3
 Diyāla, the, 143
 Duldul, 71
 Duma, 123
 Dumat al-Jandal, 53, 81, 217, 222
 East Africa, XII, XIV, XXII
 Easter, 154
 Eastern Mediterranean waters, 174
 —Roman Empire, 78, 189
 —Roman forces, 145
 Febatanah, 144
 Edessa (al-Ruha), 123
 Egypt, IX, XIII, XIV, XXII, XXIV, 58, 62, 149, 152-7, 159, 163, 165, 174-7, 180, 182-3, 185-6, 196, 198, 200, 204, 212, 214, 220-22, 232, 236, 240, 242, 244, 247, 249-50, 252, 254
 Egypt-Palestine border, 153
 Egyptian articles, XIV
 —border, 153
 —carpenter, 9
 —coasts, 173, 184
 —Empire, XV
 —goods, XIV, 250
 —king, 66
 —manufacture, 248
 —settlements, XV

- Egyptians, XXII, 154, 175, 183, 195-6, 204, 213, 221
 Elephant era, 1, 168
 Emesa (Hims), XXIII, 122-4, 146
 Eski Shām (Old Damascus), 123
 Euphrates, XV, XXI, 116, 118, 121-2, 135-7, 140, 216, 232, 250
 Euphrates—Tigris Valley, 245
 Europe, XIV
 Fadak, XXVIII, 57, 68, 127, 203, 247
Faddān, 155
 Faḍl b. Adham, 216
 Faḥl (Pella), 124, 145-6
 Fals, 125
 Farāma (Pelusium), 153
 Farghanah, 144
Al-Farr, 228, 251
 Farrukh-zād, 136
 Fars, 222, 236
 Fārūq ('Umar), 130, 132
 Fāṭimah, mother of 'Alī, 202
 Fāṭimah, sister of 'Umar, 18, 132
 Fāṭimah, wife of 'Alī, 8, 106, 127, 202-3
 Al-Fayy, 243, 247-8
 Fayyūm, 153
 Fazarah, the, 54
 Fihri tribe, 101
 Fijār, war of, 5-6, 8
 Filastīn (Palestine), 152
 Firūz Daylmī, 110, 117
 Firūzān, 140, 143
 Fosse (Ditch), the, 57
 Al-Fuḍūl, 228
 Al-fursān, 255
 Fuṣṭāt (Fossatum), 153, 156-7, 207-8, 210, 223, 249, 254
 Gabriel, 10, 45
 Galilee, 148
 George, Byzantine soldier, 161
 Gezit, 244
 Ghānīmah, 230, 242
 Ghār-i-Hirā', 11
 Gharra, XIV
 Ghassān, the, XIII, XXI, 112
 Ghassān lands, 80
 Ghassānid border, 78
 —rule, XXI
 Ghassānids, XXI, XXIII, 79
 Ghaṭfān, the, 54, 56, 66-7
 Ghazzah (Syria), 78, 122
 Ghazza (L.), 1
 Ghaznah, 198
 Ghaznī, 171
 Ghazwah al-Abwā', 38
 Ghilāf Ka'bah, 248
 Al-Ghilām, 255
 Gospel, the, 11
 Greco-Egyptian mythology, XXVIII
 Greek architect, 9
 —artists, 29
 —attack, 152
 —Emperor, 150
 —engineers, XIII, XXIII
 —physicians, XXIII
 —ship, 9
 —slave, 26
 Greeks, the, XXII, XXVII, 62, 122-3, 149, 151, 154-5, 162, 186
 Gregory, 176
 Habbar, 73
 Hadīth, 129, 201, 215, 234

- Ḥadramawt, XIII, XIV, XV, 82, 113, 116-7, 236
 Ḥafīr, 120
 Ḥafṣah, Ḥadrat, 128-9, 192, 233
 Ḥajar, 116
 Ḥajar al-Aswad, 30
 Al-Ḥajjāj b. Ḥaṭṭ, 234
 Ḥakim b. Ḥazām, 19, 77 (Ḥizām)
 Ḥakam, uncle of 'Uthmān, 168, 187
 Ḥakam b. Kaysan, 39
 Ḥalab (Ḥalb) (Aleppo), 148, 151
Halif, 228
 Ḥalimah bint Abū Dhu'ayb, 2
 Hamadān, 144
 Hamadān, banī, 218
 Al-Hamadānī, XIII
 Ḥamīrah, 87
 Hammāl, 139
 Ḥamra' al-Asad, 50
 Ḥamzah b. 'Abd al-Muttalīb, 2, 3, 16, 18, 37, 49, 115
 Ḥanīf, 11, XXIII
 Ḥanīfs, XXX, 130
 Hannibal, 159
 Ḥanzalah, the 110
 Ḥanzalah b. al-Raḥī, 230
 Harb, father of Abū Sufyān, 4
 Harāt, 171, 188
 Ḥarīth, Jew, 67
 Ḥarīth b. 'Abd al-Muttalīb, 3
 Ḥarīth Ghassānī, 65, 78
 Al-Ḥarīth, V, XXI
 Harrah, X
 Ḥarthmah b. 'Arfajah, 250
 Ḥarurīyah (Ḥarūrā'), 219
 Ḥasan b. 'Alī, 8, 202, 204, 223, 232, 252
 Al-Ḥasan b. Namīr, 230
 Ḥaṣḥam b. 'Utbah, 143
 Ḥaṣḥimids, the, 4, 71, 106, 182
 Ḥaṣḥimites, 181
 Ḥassān, brother of Ukaydir, 81
 Ḥatīb b. Abī Batta 'ah, 66, 70 (Batta'ah)
 Al-Haura, 41
 Hawāzin, the, XIX, XXI, 2, 6, 53, 75, 77, 79
 Hawran, 148
Hayy, XVII
 Hebopolis, 57
 Hebrew, XX
 Hellenism, 157
 Heraclius, the Caesar, XXIV, 78-9, 122-4, 146-7, 149, 153-4, 177
 Ḥijāz, the, XI, XIII, XV, XXII, 22, 108, 119, 122, 212, 221-2, 232, 250
Ḥilf al-Fudūl, XX, 6, 237
 Ḥimṣ (Emesa), 146-7, 151-2, 216
 Himyarites, XII, XIII, XXI, XXII
 Hindah, wife of Abū Sufyān, 47, 49, 93
 Ḥirā, Ghār, 10-11, 68
 Al-Ḥirah, XIII, XX, XXI, XXVIII, 6, 121-2, 129, 135-6, 138, 142
 Hirite dynasty, 116
 Hirites, 121
Hishbah, 239
 Hisham b. 'Amr, 19, 20
 —b. Mughīrah, 130
 Hishām Makhzūmī, 20
 Ḥubal, XXV
 Hubaysh al-Asha'r, 72

- Hudaybiyah, 58, 60, 63, 65-6, 69-70,
 93, 138, 169, 202, 215
 Hudhāfab, 214
 Hudhayfah b. Muḥassin, 116
 Hudhaytah b. 'Utbah, 43
 Hudhayfah b. al-Yamān, 140, 144,
 192, 239
 Hudhayl, Banū, XXV, 72
 Huffaz, 115, 128, 192
 Hulwān, 139, 141-44
 Humaydī, 6
 Hunayn, battle, 75, 94, 103, 202,
 251
 Hurmuz, 120, 135
 Hurmuzān, 142-3, 194
 Hurrah, 120
 Husayn b. 'Alī, 202, 252
 Al-Huwayrīth b. Nuqaydh, 73
 Huwaytib b. 'Abd al-'Uzzah, 77
 Huwayy b. Akhtab, 55, 68
 Ibn 'Abbās, 197, 208
 Ibn Abī Ka'b, 235, 238
 Ibn Abī Sarh, 177, 190, 196, 236
 Ibn 'Amir, 208
 Ibn Dhakī al-Habkah, 183
 Ibn al-Dughunnah, 102
 Ibn Ḥaḍramī, 41
 Ibn Hishām, 6
 Ibn at-Kawār, 183
 Ibn Malik ibn Najjār, 27
 Ibn Mas'ūd, 186
 Ibn Qamiyah al-Laythī, 49
 Ibn Saba, 182, 204, 206, 209
 Ibn Sa'd, 256
 Ibn Sawda, 182, 211
 Ibrāhīm, Ḥaḍrat, 30, 130
 Ifriqiyah, 176
 Iftā', 238
 Ijtihād, 193
 Ikhwān, 190
 'Ikrimah b. Abū Jahl, 69-70, 72-3,
 1^f3, 115-7, 123
 Imams, 248
 'Imr al-Qays, XIX
 India, XIV, XXII, XXIII, 145
 Indian articles, XIV, 234, 242, 244—
 6, 249, 253
 —Jats, 253
 —merchants, 116
 —Ocean, XIV
 —products, XXIII,
 —trade, XIV
 Irān, 119
 Al-'Irāq, XII, XXII, 46, 52, 58, 60,
 117, 134, 136, 140, 142, 159, 180,
 182, 184, 213, 215, 218, 254
 'Irāq al-'Arab, 135, 137, 153
 Irāqī Muslims, 216
 Iraqis, 46, 215-6, 232
 Irdabs, 247
 Irina, XXVII,
 Al-'Is, 37, 65
 'Isā, Prophet, 100
 Iṣfahān, 144, 242
 Isfandiyār, 144
 Islām, XXII, XXIII, XXIV,
 XXVII, XXVIII, XXIX, 13-20,
 22-6, 28, 32, 34-5, 39, 44-5,
 50, 52, 58-9, 61, 63-6, 69,
 72-5, 77, 79-87, 90, 92-4, 96-9,
 101-5, 108-10, 113-4, 116-7, 119-
 21, 124-5, 127, 131-4, 143, 145,
 149, 157-61, 163, 165-6, 168, 170-
 71, 180-4, 188, 193-4, 198, 200-2,

- 206, 219, 224, 228-9, 231, 248, 252
- Islamic Community, 229
- Empire, 161, 192, 229
- Institution, 200
- State, 229
- World, 231
- Islands of the Arabs, X
- Isma'īl, XXVI
- Al-Isnād (province), 236
- Isra*, 21
- Iṣṭakhr (Persepolis), 144, 171, 222
- Iṣṭakhrī, XIII
- ʿIyād, 123
- Jabal Hind, 73
- Jabal al-Nūr (Hīrah), 10
- Shammār, XI
- Thawr, 27
- Jabalah (Ibn al-Ayham), 123
- Jabān, 136
- Al-Jabiyah, 150, 254
- Jabnah (Obna), 112
- Ja'far, 17, 66
- Ja'far b. Abū Talib, 4, 79, 96
- Jaffa, 112
- Jahinah tribe, 38
- Jalula, 140, 142-3
- Jamal (battle), 207, 210, 212, 214-5, 222
- Jandab b. ʿAbd Allāh, 223
- Jandab b. Janadah, 183, 185, 191
- Jarajimah (Jarjoma), tribe, 149
- Jarīb*, 140, 155, 245-7
- Jarīr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Bijli, 137, 215
- Jasr, battlefield, 160
- Jaysh fī Sabīl Allāh*, 254
- Al-Jazīrah (Mesopotamia), 150-1, 188, 236
- Jazyah, city, 249, 254
- Jerusalem, 21, 149-52, 164, 222
- Jesus, XXVI, XXVIII,
- Jewish colonists, XXII, XXIV, 32
- settlements, XVI
- tribes, 81
- Jews, the, XXIII, XXVIII, 4-5, 21-3, 25, 33-6, 40, 45-6, 51-6, 58, 66-8, 78, 81, 84, 92-3, 98, 109, 133, 138, 147-9, 155-6, 163-5, 169, 179-80, 183, 237, 245, 253
- Jihād*, 77, 172, 284
- Jirba (Jarba), 80
- Jisr, battle of, 137-8
- Jizyah, 80, 84, 121, 129, 145, 147, 150, 165, 244-5
- Jordan, the, XXI, 8, 18, 146, 148
- Jubayr ibn Muʿim, 49, 101, 115
- Judaism, XXX, 23, 32, 90
- Juddah, port, 9
- Al-Judi, 123
- Al-Juhaym b. al-Salt, 230
- Julandah dynasty, 116
- Julius Caesar, 155
- Julian, XXIX
- Jurjān, 171
- Jurjanese, the, 145
- Justinian, XXI, XXIII,
- Al-Juz b. Muʿawiyah, 250
- Ka'b b. As'ad, 55
- Kaab b. Aṣḥraf, 45
- Ka'bah, the, XX, XXIV-XXVI, 1-3, 8-9, 11, 14-5, 17-9, 26-7, 30, 36, 58-9, 68-9, 72-4, 86-7, 104, 133, 199, 248
- Kābul, 171, 179, 188, 223
- Kāhin, XXVI

- Kaiser, 119
 Kalb, XXV
 Kalbite lady, 197
 Karak (Syria), 78
 Al-Karr, 228, 251
 Kasrah Parwiz (Chosroes), 65
Kātib al-Diwan, 236
 Khabbāb, 132
 Khadijah bint Khuwaylid b. Asad,
 XII, 7, 10, 13, 19, 21, 73, 202
 Khālaṣah, idol, 83
 Khālīd, 56
 Khālīd b. Arfatah, 139
 Khālīd b. Balham, 211
 Khālīd b. Harīth, 242
 Khālīd b. Sa'd, 241
 —b. Thābit, 149
 —b. Walīd, 48, 63, 69, 71-2, 79,
 81-2, 113-6, 120-1, 123-4, 126,
 133-4, 145-7, 149-51, 159, 164,
 185, 241
 Khalīfahs, 230-31, 237, 241
 Khalīj (Nahr) Amīr al-Mu'minīn,
 157
 Khandaq, battle, 53, 133
 Khantamah bint Hishām b. Mughī-
 rah, 130
 Khāqān, 144
 Kharash b. Ummiyah, 60
 Kharbaṭah, 220-21
 Kharijīs, 218-20, 222, 224, 232, 245,
 246
 Khāṣṣ, wādī, 68
 Khattāb, father of 'Umar, 130-1
 Khaybar, XIII, XVI, XXVIII, 51,
 53, 66-8, 106, 125, 127, 134, 165,
 245
 Khāzārs, 172
 Khazraj, the, XIX, XXI, 22-3, 25,
 27, 35, 47-8, 104
 Khilāfat, 105, 107, 125
 Al-Khūrit b. Rashīd, 222
Khums, 243
 Khurasān, 135, 145, 171-2, 236
 Khusraw Anushīrwān, XXIII
 Khusraw Parwiz, XXIV
 Khuzaymah, 8
 Khuzistān, 150
 Khuwārizm, 172
 Kilāb clan, XXI, 86
 Kinānah, XIX, 64, 66
 Kin'ānah, 69
 Kin'ānah ibn Rabi, Jewish Prince,
 68
 Kindah tribe, XIX, XX, 151
 Kindites, the, XX, XXI
 Kirmān, 144, 171, 222, 236
 Kūfah, 121, 135, 138, 142-3, 153,
 173, 182-3, 186-7, 192-4, 199,
 207-8, 210, 212-3, 216-8, 220, 223,
 231-2, 234, 236, 242, 247-50, 254,
 255
 Kufans, the, 181, 184, 187, 193, 195,
 204, 211, 221
 Kulthūm, 27
 Kulthūm, wife of 'Umar, 164
 Kumayl, 183
 Kunays b. Khālīd, 72
 Kurds, the, 172
 Kutba, 140
 Kurz b. Jabir, 39, 72
La fata illa 'Alī, 203
La hukma illa lil Lāh, 218

- Labid, 'Arab poet, 86
 Labnah, slave girl, 132
 Lakhmids, XXI, XXIII, XXVIII, 121
 Laqit ibn Malik, 116
 Al-Lāt, XXV, 86
 Latin, 153
 Laylat al-Ḥarīr, 139, 216
 Al-Ludd (Lydda), 254
 Al-Lukkam (Amanus), 149
 Lycian coast, 177, 186
 Ma'add, XXI
 Ma'ādh b. Jabal, 235, 238
 Ma'an b. Yazīd, 234
 Al-Madā'in, 135, 137-8, 142, 145, 159, 162, 219
 Madinah, XI, XIX, 1-2, 8, 22-6, 28, 30, 32-42, 45-59, 61-71, 74-5, 78-83, 86-9, 92, 94-5, 103, 105-7, 109, 115, 117, 122-3, 125, 129, 133, 135, 137, 141, 145, 148-9, 151, 153, 162, 168-9, 175-8, 184-5, 191, 195, 197, 199, 202-5, 209, 212-3, 218, 222, 229, 231-2, 235-7, 242, 248, 251.
Madīnat al-Nābl (Madīnah), 28
 Madīnites, the, XXI, 32, 34, 38, 40, 42, 47, 57, 80, 111, 178, 181, 196, 204, 206, 209, 210, 212, 242
 Magians, the, 145, 163, 165, 179, 180, 183, 253
 Mahomet, 73
 Mahrah, 82, 114, 116
 Mahzur 54, 199
 Maja'ah Ḥanafī, 115, 126
 Majlis al-Shūrā, 169, 194-5, 200, 203, 234-6, 242
 Majūsī masson, 248
 Makhshī b. 'Umar, 38
 Makhzūm, 18
 Makkah, XI, XII, XIII, XIX, XXIII, XXV, 1-5 10, 13-5, 20-8, 30, 34, 36-42, 44-5, 47-8, 54, 58-60, 62-4, 68-75, 79, 82, 84, 86-7, 92-3, 95, 102-3, 107-8, 111, 122, 133-4, 162, 168, 197, 202, 204, 209, 212-3, 222, 232, 236-7, 240, 248, 252
 Makkan army, 210, 251
 —caravans, 37-8, 65
 —chiefs, XII
 —fugitives, 18
 —heathens, 23
 —opposition, 133
 —Quraysh, 37
 —surahs, the, 12
 Makkans, the, XII, XXI, XXII, 3, 7, 12, 14, 16-7, 19-22, 25-7, 33-4, 36-47, 49-54, 56-65, 68, 70-74, 79, 82, 93, 108, 133-4, 209, 210, 251
 Al-Mala', 227
 Mālik b. Nuwayrah, 111, 113, 116, 126
 Mālik al-Ash tar, 216, 255
 Al-Manāt, XXV, 3
Manjaniq, 251
 Manṣūr, Prefect, 146
 Mardān Shāh, s/o Hurmuz, 136, 144

- Marj al-Suffār, 123, 146
 Marr al-Zahrān, 71
 Marrah, 130
 Marsiyh, 45
 Marwa, hill, 87
 Marwān, 129, 176
 Marwān, s/o Ḥakam, 189, 190
 Mary, XXVI, XXVIII, 74
 Marzubans, 245
 Masīḥ al-Islām (Abū Dhar), 178
 Masjid al-Nabawī, 1, 105, 199, 229, 237
 Maṣḥ rafīyah, 79
 Maslamah (Musaylīmah) b. Ḥabīb 109-111, 113, 115, 120
 Ma'ūnah, 239
 Mawālī, 228, 252
 Māwarā'un Nahr, 172
 Mawṣil (Mosul), 143, 250
 Maysarah, 8
 Mazdak, XXIX
 Mazkat, door of, 9
 Mecca, 73
 Mediterranean Sea, 112
 Mediterranean islands, 214
 Memphis, 153-4, 157
 Merv, 142, 144, 171-2
 Mesopotamia, IX, XIV, XV, 111, 117, 135, 140-41, 145, 150-51, 187
 Mesopotamian campaign, 139
 Messiah, 23
 Miḥrāb, 29
 Mihrān b. Mahruyah, 137
 Mihrān (Baluchistan), 145, 236
 Minār, 23, 56
 Minbar, 29
 Miqyās b. Hubābah, 73
 Al-Mirha', 228
 Morocco, 179
 Mosaic Law, 57
 Mosque of Fustāt, 166
 —of Madīnah (Masjid Nabawi) 69, 82, 103, 162, 169, 171, 199, 229
 Mount Arafāt, 4
 • —Muqatṭam, 249
 —Ṣafa, 17, 142
 —Uḥud, 47-8
 Mu'ādh, Anṣār, 43
 Mu'ādh ibn Jabal, 110, 146, 151
 Mu'adhdhins, 30, 133, 248
 Mu'āwīyah b. Abū Sufyān, 68, 150, 152, 173-4, 178, 182, 194, 204, 207-10, 212-3, 216-23, 231-2, 238, 255-6
 Md'āwīyah b. Khadij al-Kindī, 221
 Mu'ayqib b. Abū Faṭimah, 230, 242
 Muḍar, XXI
 Al-Mughīrah, 86, 142
 Al-Mghīrah b. Shu'ayb, 230
 Mughīrah b. Sha'bah (Shu'bah), 162, 173, 184-6, 208
 Mughīrah b. Zurārah, 138
 Muhājir, Chief, 117
 Muhājir ibn abi Ummīyah, 113
 Muhājirs, 28, 30-2, 34, 36-8, 42, 44, 49, 51, 90, 106, 115, 124, 133, 163, 235
 Muhājirūn, 29, 52, 230
 Muḥalhil, XIX (Poet)
 Muḥammad, the Prophet, X, XIX, XX, XXII, XXIII, XXVI, XXVII,

- XXVIII, XXX, 1-13, 15-30, 33-6, 38-9, 41, 43-4, 48, 51-2, 54, 56-60, 62-7, 70-2, 75, 77, 80-4, 86, 88-92, 94-5, 98-102, 107-110, 117, 130-2, 134, 136, 162, 169-70, 192, 199, 202-3, 206, 224-5, 229-31
- Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allah, 1, 61
- Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr, 125, 177, 184, 197, 205, 212, 214, 220
- Muḥammad b. Abū Hudhayfah, 177, 184
- Muḥammad b. Muslimah, 209, 240
- Muḥammad Pasha Falakī, 1
- Muḥsin b. 'Alī, 202
- Muir, 143, 147
- Mujannah, 5, 20,
- Mulsaq, 228
- Munāfarah*, 131
- Mundhir, Ghassanid ruler, XXI
- Mundhir, 116
- Muqattaḥ hill, 153
- Muqawqis (Cyrus), 124, 153, 157
- Muraisi, 53
- Muruwwa, 108
- Mūsā, Prophet, 100
- Muṣ'ab b. 'Umayr, 24, 49, 202
- Musaylamah, 126
- Al-Muṣḥaqqaq, wādī, 92
- Muslim admiral, 173, 177
- Muslim Arabs, 254
- Muslim army, 155
- community, 247
 - conquerors, 145, 166
 - force, 135, 137, 140, 142-3, 146, 149, 250, 253
 - merchants, 247
 - navy, 184,
 - slaves, 13
 - society, 253
 - soldiers, 158-60, 173, 234, 246, 256
 - state, 119, 234, 247
 - territory, 187, 247
 - women, 57
- Muslims, the, XXII, XXIV, XXXIII, 13, 16-7, 19-22, 25-7, 31-4, 36-48, 49-53, 55-60, 62-8, 70-2, 78-80, 83, 87, 89-90, 97-9, 104, 108-9, 112-3, 115, 118-9, 123-4, 132-3, 135-6, 139-48, 150, 153-5, 157-8, 160-3, 167-8, 172-4, 176-81, 189, 194, 196, 198-201, 206, 209, 211, 216, 219, 224, 233, 237, 242, 244-7, 250-1, 253
- Mustaghīth, 241
- Musta'rib (Arabicized), 78
- Muṭah, 78-9
- Mutammim, 114
- Muthanna (b. Ḥarithah), 116-7, 120, 123, 135-8
- Muṭ'im b. Adiy, 20, 22
- Muṭṭalib clan, 3
- Muzaynah, 38, 71
- Nabi*, 27
- Nahāwand, battle, 235-6
- Nahr Abū Mūsā, 250
- Nahr Amīr al-Mu'minin, 250
- Ma'qil, 250
- Nahrawān Canal, 219, 220, 222

- Na'ilah (goddess), 74
 Na'iah, the Kalbite lady, 179, 205-6
 Al-Na'im, fortress, 67
 Najaf, 138, 223
 Najd, XV, 22, 46, 52-3, 58, 75, 110, 118, 122, 162, 199
 Najjāshah (Negus), 17
 Najran, XIV, 36, 82-3, 110, 117, 236
 Nakhilah, 39, 220
 Na'mar, 145
 Namard, 137
 Naṃariq, 136
 Napoleon, 159
 Naqqabun, 256
 Narsi, 136
 Al-Nashūtah, 228
 Naṣr, XXV
 Nawfal, 39
 Naylah, XXV
 Near East, 118
 Nebuchadnezzar, XIII
 Negro, 182
 Negus, the, 17-8, 66, 94, 96
 Nestorian Bishop, 147
 Nihāwand, 144
 Nile, the, XV, 153, 157, 249-50
 Nīmrūd, 140n
Al-Nisāb, 244
 Niṣhāpūr, 171, 188
 Non-Muslims, 164-5
 North Africa, XV, 152, 175-6
 189-90, 198, 214
 North Arabia, XXI
 North Arabs, XX, XXI
 Nu'aym b. 'Abd Allāh, 132
 Nu'aym b. Mas'ūd, 56
 Nubia (al-Nubah), 176
 Nubians, the, 176
 Nufarl, grandfather of 'Umar, 130
 Nufud, X, XI
 Nu'mān, 116
 Nu'mān, general, 257
 Nu'mān b. Mīqrān, 138, 143, 144, 236
 Nu'mān b. Mundhir, 249
 Nuṣhrawān (Chosroes), XXIII,
 Obna (Jabneh), 112
 Okeidir, 123
 Old Damascus, 123
 Old Testament, XXVIII
 Oxus, the, 172
 Pagan Arabs, XVI, 108
 Pagarchy, 157
 Palestine, XIII, XIV, XXIV, 122, 124, 149, 152, 214, 236, 254
 Parwiz, 119
 Paul, XXVIII
 Pelusium (Farama), 153
 Persia, XXIII, XXIV, 65-6, 120-1, 123, 131, 142-3, 146, 148, 156, 158-9, 163, 171-2, 186-7, 221-2, 236, 242, 244, 246, 252, 254-5
 Persian, 182, 242, 244
 Persian army, 253
 —border, 137, 142, 213
 —buildings, 248
 —capital, 135
 —Christian, 162
 —colonists XXII
 —commander in chief, 138
 —culture, 172

- custom, 90
- defensive tactics, 251
- dirham, 242
- divisions, 136
- Emperor, 172
- empire, 118-20, 139, 157
- force, 144
- gulf, X, XIV, XV, XXIII, 116, 120, 142
- highland, 143
- institutions, 242
- Iraq, 135
- lances, 256
- neo-Muslim, 194
- products, XIV
- range, 142
- rulers, XXIV, 135, 142
- soldiers, 120, 135, 137, 138, 140, 158, 161, 254
- towns, 145
- Persians, XVII, XXI, XXII, XXIII, 78-9, 82, 116-21, 127, 134-9, 141-4, 149, 152, 158-62, 192, 198, 216, 232, 257
- Petra, XXV, 218
- Phoenix, 177
- Prophet Ibrāhīm, 1
- Ptolemaic Library, 155
- Puran Duḡht, 120, 136, 138
- Qabilah*, XVII
- Qabisah, a Bedawi, 208
- Qādis, 203, 238
- Qadisiyah, 138-40, 142, 148, 159, 161, 253, 255
- Qafiz, 146, 245
- Qahtān, XX
- Qahwah, XIX
- Al-Qā'id, 255
- Qahtanites, the, XX
- Qamasin, 144
- Qamūs (fortress), 67
- Al-Qa'qa', 122, 139, 143, 211
- Qartajannah (Carthage), 176
- Qasariyah, 253
- Qasidahs, XIX
- Qāsim, son of Prophet Muḥammad, 8
- Qawm, XVII
- Qaynuqā', 31
- Qayrawān, 153
- Qays b. Abū al-Aslat, poet, 24
- Qays b. 'Adī, 77
- Qays b. al-Hathim, 172
- Qays b. Makshūh, 117
- Qays b. Sa'd, 208, 212-4, 220, 221
- Qays b. Sa'ib, 7
- Qays ibn Sirmah, XXIX
- Qiblah*, 29, 30
- Qinnasrin (Chalcis), 14, 151, 192
- Qists*, 155
- Qubā', 27, 30, 133
- Qubati, 248
- Qudā', 112
- Al-Qurā, Wādī, 68
- Qur'an, the, XXV, 12, 14, 16-8, 24, 34, 42, 86, 90-1, 99, 102, 106, 108, 109, 115, 128-9, 185, 192-3, 197, 201, 215-6, 218, 224, 229, 233-4
- Quraysh, XIX, XXI, XXIV, XXV

- XXVI, XXVII, 1, 6, 9, 13-7, 19,
 20, 25-7, 33-6, 36, 39-46, 48-9, 51,
 53-6, 59-60, 63-6, 69-74, 77, 81,
 82-3 101-2, 104, 111, 130-1, 133,
 168-9, 179, 182-4, 187-8, 192, 205,
 213-4, 217, 231, 237
 Quraysh chiefs, 166
 Qurayshite general, 153
 Qurayshites, 179, 188, 206
 Quss al-Natif, 136
 Al-Rabādhah, 92, 112, 178
 Rabi, soldier, 139
 Rabi, season, XI
 Rabi'ah, 238
 Rabigh, 37
 Rafh (Rafj or 'Arish) 153
 Rafi'ah b. 'Abd al-Mundhir, 133
 Rafj (Rafh), 153
Al-Ra'id, 256
Al rajil, 255
 Al-Raji', wādī, 67
 Raji' tribes of 53
 Ram Hurmūz, 143
 Ramlah, 124, 236, 254
 Raqqah (Nicephorium), 216
 Rās Islam, 249
Rasūl, 28
 Al-Rawdah, 153
 Rayy, 144
 Red Sea, XI, XII, XXII, XXIII, 9,
 37, 41, 43, 46, 65, 80, 117, 157,
 250
 Rhodes, the, 174
Al-rid, 255
 Riddah war, 113, 122
Rifādah, 3
 Risālat period, 27
 River of Blood, 121
 Roman Africa, 153
 Roman Emperor, 123, 147
 —soldiers, 158, 247
 Roman feudal system, 246
 Romans, the XII, XVI, XVII,
 XXII XXVIII, 118, 123, 147-8,
 161-2 173, 176-7, 184, 214, 244
Al-rumāl, 255
 Rummah, wādī, X
 Ruqayyah, daughter of the Prophet,
 8, 17, 167, 168, 169
 Rustam, son of Farrukhzād, 136,
 138-9
 Rustam's brother, Kharzad, 143
 Ruzbah, 248
 Sabaeans, XXIII, XXIV, XXX, 82
Sab'ah Mu'allaqāt, XX
 Sabā'ī party, 211
 Sabat, 138
Ṣābi, 20
 Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās, 13, 38-9, 49,
 97, 102, 138-9, 141, 145, 151, 159,
 161, 163, 170, 173, 185-6, 191,
 195, 209, 249-50
 Sa'd b. Ma'ādh, 24, 57
 Sa'd b. 'Ubādah, 38, 104-6, 213
Al-sadaqah, 230, 243
 Safā, hill, 15, 17, 87, 134, 202
Saff, 251
Al-safayā', 228
 Safiyah, daughter of Huwayy, 68
 Safwān b. Umayyah 46, 77
 Safwān b. Ummiyah, 239

- Ṣāhib al-Aḥdāth (*shurtah*), 236, 238
 Ṣāhib Bayt al-Māl, 236
 —al-Kharāj, 266
 —al-Maʿūnah, 239
 —al-Shurtah, 239
 Ṣaḥīfah, 128
 Sahl b. Ḥanīf, 212
 Sahwān b. Ummiyah, 239
 Saʿīb, 7
 Saʿīd (Egypt), 174
 Saʿīd b. al-Aṣ, 171, 183, 187-8, 194-5
 Saʿīd b. Masʿūd, 219
 Saʿīd b. Zayd, 17, 41, 124
 Saʿīd, brother-in-law of ʿUmar, 18
 Sajah bint Ḥarīth Tamīmah, 110-11, 114, 118, 121
 Salām, the Banū Nadīr Chief, 66
 Al-Ṣalāt Jamīʿah, 235
 Salmah, range, XI
 Salmah, Umm al-Khayr, 101
 Salmān, the Persian, 40, 54
 Salmān b. Rābiʿah, 235
 Ṣamad, 140
 Samarraḥ 138
 Sana, XI, XIII, XIV
 Sanjah, 110, 117
 Ṣāqah, 251
 Saqaliyah, 136
 Saqliyah (Sicily), 174
 Sārah, 71
 Sarif, 87 (Dhu'l-Ḥulayfah)
 Saʿāh, 183
 Sasanid army, 139
 Sasanids, XIV, XXIX, 158, 245-6
 Sassanids, 245-4
 Sawād, the, 245
 Sayf Allāh (Khalīd), 79
 Seleucia (Madāʿīn), 139
 Semetic culture, XV
 —people, 172
 Semites, XIV
 Sergius, 122
 Shaʿab, the, 65
 Shahr b. Bāzan, 110
 Shahr Barāz, 145
 Shahrīyār, 140
 Shams, XXV
 Sharḥbīl b. Simt al-Kindī, 215
 Sharīḥ Judhamī, 216, 236, 238
 Sharīkh b. ʿAhdab, 152
 Shaybah gate, 87
 Shaybah b. Rabīʿah, 43
 Shayban Bedouins, 116, 120
 Al-Shaykh, XVIII, 227-8
 Shazraf, 138
 Shiʿite belief, 183
 Shuraḥbīl b. Ḥasanah, 78, 113, 122, 159
 Shurtah, 239
 Shustar, fort, 143
 Sicily, 174
 Siddīq (Abū Bakr), 101
 Ṣiffīn, battle, 215, 217-8, 221-2, 251, 255-6
 Sīhran, river, X
 Sijistan, 145, 171, 188, 213, 236
 Sinai Peninsula, XV
 Sīqāyah, 3
 Sīqilliyyah (See Saqliyah)
 Sīstān, 223

- Solomon, XXVIII**
Sophronius 149-50
South Arabia, XII, XXI, XXII
 XXIII, XXV
South- Arabic, XX
 —Arabs, the, XX, XXI
 —Yaman, XXIV
South-west Asia X
Suffah, 29
Sufyān b. 'Awf Azdī, 174
Suhayl, Greek slave, 26
Suhayl b. Amr (Quraysh), 61, 77
Suhayl ibn Ḥanīf, 208
 Al-Sulāḥim, fort, 67
 Sulaym, the, 54
Sūrah Ḥadīd, 132
 —Tāha, 132
Suraqah b. Ja'ghm, 27
Sus, 144
Suwa, XXV
Suwayd 'Ajlī, 120
Syria, IX, XII, XV, XVI, XXII,
 XXVIII. 1, 4, 5, 8, 37-8, 40,
 43, 45-6, 51, 58, 60, 62, 65, 79,
 80-1, 107, 111, 114, 118-9,
 122-3, 127, 131, 134, 139, 145,
 148-52, 156-9, 161-4, 168, 172-4,
 178, 182-3, 191, 196-7, 207-9,
 212-5, 218-20, 222, 231-32, 234,
 236, 240, 242, 244, 246, 252,
 254-5
Syrian border 80, 122
 —brethren, 154
 —Christians, 124
 —coasts, 173-4
 —communities, 80
 —desert, XIV
 —expedition, 112, 129, 134,
 162, 209, 211, 220
 —farmers, 140
 —goods, XIV
 —Muslims, 178, 216
 —rulers, 134
 —trade, 37
 —troops, 204, 215
 —wind, XXVII
Syriac, 242
Syrians 161, 213, 216, 232
Tabaristān 171, 173, 188
Ta'biyah, 251
Al-tabi'ah, 255
Tabūk (Syria), 78, 80-1, 85, 91-2,
 103, 134, 169, 203
Taghlib, XIX, 137, 145
Ṭahir, son of the Prophet, 8
Al-Ṭā'if, XIII, XXV, 6, 22, 39,
 46, 75, 77, 80, 86, 122, 162,
 189, 251
Takmilah, 246
Takrit, 145
Ṭalḥah ibn 'Abd Allāh, 163, 166,
 168, 170, 181, 183, 195, 204-5,
 209-11, 213-4, 217, 219, 223
Ṭalḥah b. Barā', 54
Ṭalḥah (Ṭulayḥah) b. Kḥuwaylid,
 110, 114
Ṭalḥah b. 'Ubayd Allāh, 13, 41
 49, 112-3
Tamīm, banī, 218

- Tartars, the, 144
 Taurus, 148
 Tawāf, 30, 74
 Tayma', XIII, XXVIII, 68, 236
 Tays, XXI
 Tayyib, son of the Prophet, 8
 Temple of Abraham (Ka'bah), 30
 —of Solomon (Jerusalem), 30
 —of Yaman, 14, 83
 Thammāgh, 134
 Thamūd, the, 5
 Thana, 145
 Thaqafī chief, 135
 Thaqīfah Banī Sa'idahs, 104, 106, 134
 Thaur, 94
 Theodosius, 79, 123-4, 148, 154
 Theodosius, 155
 Tiberius, 146
 Tiflis, 173
 Tigris, the, 137, 140, 59, 219, 250
 Tihamah, the, XIV, XXIV, 22, 82, 117
 Torah, XXVIII, 11
 Transjordan, 124
 Tribal chiefs, 229
 —organisation, 229
Tributum capiti, 244
 Tripoli, 175-6, 185, 188-90, 199
 Tukharistan, 172
 Tulayhah, 118, 144, 159
 Turkish charge (horse), 172, 200, 240
 Turks, the, XVII, 172, 198
 Tūs, 171
 Tuwaybah, 2
 'Ubyd Allāh ibn Jahsh, XXIX
 'Ubaydah b. Ḥārith, 37, 43
 'Ubayd Allāh b. Ubayy, 162
 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Umar, 193
 Ubayy b. Ka'ab, 191, 230
 Ubullah, 120, 142
 Uḥud, hill (battle), XXVI, XXVII, 46, 49, 51-2, 58, 69, 92, 94, 103, 115, 133, 169, 202
 Ukaydir b. 'Abd al-Malik, 81
 'Ukkāz, fair, XIX, 5, 20, 131
 Ulbays (Valogeses), 120
 'Umān, X, XV, 82, 114, 116, 236
 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz, 29, 68
 'Umar al-Khaṭṭāb (al-Fārūq), 18, 19, 29, 62, 68, 70, 74, 89, 93, 103-5, 111, 115, 124-6, 128-31, 134, 138, 142-3, 145, 147, 149-50, 152-3, 156-7, 162-7, 169, 170-4, 180-81, 185-8, 191-4, 198, 200, 203, 207, 224, 231, 233-38, 240-4, 246-50, 252-4, 256
 Umayr b. Dābi, XIII, 183
 Umayyad Khilāfat, 232
 Umayyads, the, XIII, 4, 73, 181, 188, 190, 201, 205, 217-8, 231-2
 Umayyah b. Khalaf, 38
 Umm 'Aminārah, 50
 Umm Daum, 153
 Umm Kulthūm d/o the Prophet, 8, 167
 Umm Kulthūm d/o 'Alī, 202-3

- Umm Kulthūm bint Abū Bakr, 125
Umm ul-muminīn ('Ā'ishah), 212
 Umm Maymūnah, 69
 Umm Salīm, 50
Ummah (community), 33, 90, 95
 Ummiyah, grand father of Abū Sufyān, 4
 Ummiyah b. Abī Salt, XXX
 Ummiyah b. Khalaf, 13, 43
 Ummiyah b. al-Mughīrah, 9
 'Umrāh b. Ḥazm, 91
 'Unayna b. Ḥisn, 77
 Upper Egypt, 157
 Uqbah ibn Mu'ayt, 168
 Uranah, 4
 Urdunn (Jordan), 147-8, 152
 Urwah b. Mas'ūd al-Thaqafī, 6, 60
 Usamah b. Zayd, 111, 122, 127, 129, 134, 166, 209
 Usayd b. Ḥuzayr, 124
 Al-'ushūr, 243, 247
 'Ushrī, 248
 'Utbah b. Ghazwān, 39, 248
 'Utbah b. Malik, 133
 'Utbah b. Usayd, 64
 'Utbah, governor, 142
 'Utbah, father of Hindah, 47
 'Uthmān b. 'Affān (*Dhu al-Nurayn*), 13, 17, 29, 54, 60-1, 80, 102, 105, 124, 126, 128-9, 134, 153, 156-7, 163, 167-91, 193-201, 204-10, 213-6, 221, 224-6, 230-32, 234-6, 238, 243, 245
 'Uthmān b. al-Farqad, 234
 'Uthmān ibn Ḥanīf, 208, 236
 'Uthmān b. Hunayf, 140, 245
 'Uthman b. al-Huwayrith, XXIX
 'Uthmān b. Ṭalhah, 73-4
 'Uthmān b. Mādhun, XXIX
 'Uthmān, grandson of Mughīrah, 39
 Uwaynah b. Ḥisn, 85
 Al-'Uzzā, XXV, XXVI, 3
 Wadd, XXV
 Waddān, 38
 Wādī al-Arish, 153
 —al-Qura, XIII, 5
 —Sihran, X
 Wadis, X
 Waḥshī, slave, 49, 115
 Al-Walaja, 120
 Wālī, 235-7, 240
Wali 'Ahd, 232
 Walid ibn al-Mughīrah, XXIX
 Walid b. 'Uqbah, 173, 186-8, 194
 —b. 'Utbah, 43, 123
 Walijah, battle, 257
 Waraqah b. Nawfal, XXIX, XXX, 11
 Warqā b. Ma'mar, 216
 Waṣī, 182, 232
Wasqs, 244
 Al-Waṭih, fort, 67
 Al-Watir, 69
 Waybahs, 155
 West Asia, XV
 Western Asia, IX
 —India, XIV

- Yaghuth, XXV
 Yamamah, 65, 109, 121, 115, 118, 128
 Yaman, XI, XII, XIII, XIV, XXII, 6, 66, 82, 110, 113, 116-7, 122, 162, 203, 213, 222, 224, 236
 Yamanite Jew, 182
 Yamanites, the, XIV, XX, XXI, XXI
 Yanbū, 38-9, 58, 157
 Ya'qūb, XXV
 Ya'qūbī, 175
 Ya'rab, XX
 Yarmūk (Hieromax), 139, 148, 159, 161, 245, 257
 Yathrib, XIII, XVI, XXVIII, 22-4, 26-8, 33, 192
 Yathribites, the, XXII, 22-5
 Yaumu'l Aghwāth, 139
 —'Ām, 139
 —Armāth, 139
 Yazdagird b. Shahrzār, 120, 136, 138, 141-3, 153-4, 253
 Yazdagird III, 144, 171
 Yazīd b. Sufyān, 122, 152, 232
 Yuhanna (John) b. Rubah (Ruya), 80
 Yūsuf, Jew, 253
 Zahrah, 205
 Zakāt, 77, 85, 97, 106, 108, 112-4, 117, 126-7, 191, 230, 234, 240, 242, 244
 Zamzam, well, 1
 Zargos, the, 137
 Al-Zawāhir, XXV
 Zayd, 27, 43
 Zayd, grandson of Nufayl, 130
 Zayd ibn 'Amr, XXIX, XXX
 —b. Arqam, 102
 Zayd b. Ḥarīth, 78-9, 111, 202
 —b. Ḥarīthab, 111
 —b. Thābit, 99, 115, 126, 128-9, 185, 188, 190, 192
 Zayd al-Lusāyt, 91
 Zaynab bint 'Alī, 202
 —bint Ḥarīth, 47, 67-8
 —bint Prophet Muḥammad, 8, 27, 44
 Ziyād b. Abū Sufyān, 249
 —b. 'Awwām, 13, 71, 102
 —b. Labīd, 117
 Ziyad, treasurer, 140, 212, 222 (governor)
 Zoroastrians, Persians, XXVIII, XXIX
 Zubayr b. 'Awwām, 13, 71, 102, 163, 167, 170, 181, 184, 195, 204-5, 209-11, 213-4, 217, 219, 223, 230
 —b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, 3, 5, 6, 17
 Zubayr, 20, 105-6, 112
 Zuhra clan, 42

